

ON THE TRAIN, JULY 1934

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

LVIII

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PREFACE

This volume covers the period of four months from mid-May to mid-September 1934. A week earlier, on May 8, Gandhiji had converted his Orissa tour into a walking pilgrimage and, after an interruption of two days, on May 17 and 18, to attend a meeting of the A.I.C.C. at Patna, he completed it on June 8. Resuming the tour by rail a few days later, Gandhiji visited Poona, Ahmedabad, Ajmer, Karachi, Calcutta, Kanpur and Lucknow and concluded it at Banaras on August 2, having covered during the nine months of the tour on behalf of Harijans over 12,000 miles (of which 156 miles on foot) and collected about ten lakhs of rupees. Throughout the tour, Gandhiji was confronted at many places by sanatanists with black-flag demonstrations and on June 25, at Poona, a bomb was thrown on what the assailant believed was the car carrying him. Pandit Lalnath, leader of the sanatanist demonstrations, while addressing a meeting at Ajmer on July 5 received a lathi blow which Gandhiji presumed must have been delivered by a 'reformer' and in atonement for which, therefore, he immediately announced a seven-day fast after the end of the tour. Reaching Wardha on August 5, Gandhiji commenced the fast on August 8 and completed it on August 14. On August 23, the controversial Temple-entry Bill, which had been opposed in the Central Assembly by several members and also by the Government, both on principle and on the ground that the measure was impracticable, came to an inglorious end as its mover, Ranga Iyer, withdrew the Bill, to the great jubilation of the sanatanists.

The end of the tour coincided with the end of the period of voluntary abstention by Gandhiji from active politics following his sentence of one year's imprisonment on August 4, 1933. In the mean time, however, the Congress Working Committee had met at Wardha on June 12 after a lapse of 30 months and without its President, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and important members like Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who were still in jail. It met again in Bombay on June 17 and 18 and passed a resolution on the Communal Award neither accepting it nor rejecting it. Gandhiji attended both the meetings. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and M. S. Aney had demanded outright rejection of the Award, and an attempt was, therefore, made at yet another meeting of the Committee at Banaras during Gandhiji's short stay there to

iron out the difference between them and the other members, Sardar Patel, who had by then been released, presiding over the meeting. The Committee could not abandon its fundamental attitude of non-acceptance and non-rejection and, in consequence, the two dissidents resigned from the Congress.

Gandhiji's large-hearted tolerance of different points of view enabled him to encourage deviants from the mainstream of the Congress, like parliamentarians and Socialists, and even guide them, with friendly criticism in the case of the Socialists, in the pursuit of their *swadharma.* Moving at the Patna A.I.C.C. meeting the resolution on Council-entry, a programme in which he had scant faith, he said: "The parliamentary work must be left to those who are so inclined. . . . In its own place, it will be useful. But the Congress will commit suicide if its attention is solely devoted to legislative work. Swaraj will never come that way. Swaraj can only come through an all-round consciousness of the masses" (p. 11). His own future plan was a "continuation of the Harijan work and the rest of the constructive programme . . ." (p. 285). Though he had helped to bring into being the Congress Parliamentary Board, as a "concession to hard facts" (p. 173), he repeatedly insisted "that it is the least part of the national programme. It will be useless, in terms of swaraj, without the backing of the constructive programme, not one on mere paper but in solid substantial India-wide work" (p. 285).

While welcoming the rise of the Socialist Party in the Congress, he frankly pointed out the defects which he noted in its programme, its disregard of Indian conditions and its assumption of inevitable "antagonism between the classes and the masses or between the labourers and the capitalists, such that they can never work for mutual good" (p. 75). If labourers should know their rights and how to assert them, he also held that every right implied a corresponding duty and the Socialist manifesto, therefore, should emphasize performance of duty and show what that duty was (p. 76). Being convinced that capitalists and landlords were not averse to progressively sharing their riches with the masses, he said: "Let us who live in glass houses not throw stones. . . . We ourselves have not completely shed the habits of living that we say the capitalists are notorious for. The idea of class war does not appeal to me. In India class war is not only not inevitable but it is avoidable if we have understood the message of non-violence" (p. 218). Even while deprecating blind acceptance of imported "catchwords and seductive slogans" (p. 219), he recognized the restless search for truth that

filled the soul of the West and said, "I value that spirit. Let us study our Eastern institutions in that spirit of scientific inquiry and we shall evolve a truer socialism and a truer communism than the world has yet dreamed of. It is surely wrong to presume that Western socialism or communism is the last word on the question of mass poverty" (p. 219). He refused to subscribe to the belief of Western socialists and communists "in the essential selfishness of human nature". He declared his faith that man in any station "can respond to the call of spirit in him and can rise superior to the passions that he owns in common with the brute and therefore superior to selfishness and violence which belong to brute nature and not to the immortal spirit of man" (p. 248). He therefore pleaded for a socialism or communism based on non-violence and on harmonious co-operation of labour and capital and landlord and tenant. He wrote to Narendra Deva: ". . . your enunciation of the socialist object frightens me. . . . The implications of all the three principles . . . make an intoxicating programme. I fear all intoxicants" (p. 274). He suggested that the Socialists should present the country with "practical socialism in keeping with Indian conditions instead of scientific socialism as your programme has been called" (p. 275). Finally, in a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, who breathed angry contempt for bullock-cart socialism, Gandhiji took full responsibility for the Working Committee's resolution and added: "Of course here comes in the difference of our emphasis on the method or the means which to me are just as important as the goal and in a sense more important in that we have some control over them whereas we have none over the goal if we lose control over the means" (p. 318).

Speaking to khadi workers, Gandhiji dissented from Adam Smith who considered the human element a disturbing factor in the study of economic phenomena and argued: ". . . it is this 'human element' on which the entire economics of khadi rests; and human selfishness, Adam Smith's 'pure economic motive', constitutes the 'disturbing factor' that has got to be overcome. . . . Debasing of quality, adulteration, pandering to the baser tastes of humanity, are current staple in commercialized production; they have no place in khadi, nor has the principle of highest profit and lowest wages any place in khadi." The spinner is "not a machine. . . . the art in khadi appeals first to the heart and then to the eye" (pp. 353-4). In a discussion with Dodd he claimed for the spinning-wheel only the merit of producing additional wealth by utilizing the idle hours of the nation. It was never meant to

displace existing employment. "Give me a thing", he said, "which would increase the daily income of the millions of our impoverished people more than the spinning-wheel, and I should gladly give up the spinning-wheel" (p. 401).

But the Congress intelligentsia did not share Gandhiji's faith in the khadi programme, with its concomitants, and, watching with growing concern the differences in outlook and method between them and him, he seriously considered the advisability of his leaving the Congress. In the letters to Vallabhbhai Patel we can trace his mental agony over the question. He felt that he seemed "to be obstructing the growth of the Congress". He could think of no way of fighting the rot, except by leaving it. "My doing so will rid it of hypocrisy" (p. 329). Little by little he came to the rueful conclusion "that the best interests of the Congress and the nation will be served by my completely severing all official or physical connection with the Congress, including the original membership. . . . I feel that my remaining in it any longer is likely to do more harm than good. . . . A tree is no more hurt by a ripe fruit falling from it than would the Congress be by my going out of it. Indeed the fruit will be dead weight, if it did not fall when it was fully ripe. . . . I feel that I am a dead weight on the Congress now" (pp. 403-4). He felt with poignant clarity the inability of the intelligentsia who wanted to lead the Congress to understand the needs of the masses with whom he had identified himself. His reason, he said, "takes me in a direction just the opposite of what many of the most intellectual Congressmen would gladly and enthusiastically take, if they were not hampered by their unexampled loyalty to me". He could not exploit their loyalty and devotion and the leaders who disapproved of his method would not outvote him and compel his retirement. He therefore came to the conclusion that the "only way I can requite such loyalty was by voluntary retirement" (p. 405).

Whether it was the movement against untouchability or the struggle for political freedom or economic equality, Gandhiji was concerned not only with prompt decisive action, but also with preservation of wholeness in persons and society. He clung to the faith that life was a single indivisible whole and that spiritual *sadhana* was not an escape from its demands, but ever deeper involvement in it. Writing to Premabehn Kantak, he distinguishes between speaking of and fulfilling the Congress programme and says: "The real worshippers of Shri Krishna are not those who shout 'Krishna, Krishna', but those who do His work. Our hunger is not appeased if we keep shouting 'bread,

bread'. It is appeased by eating bread" (p. 392). In a letter to Dilip Kumar Roy, a follower of Sri Aurobindo, he explains with due modesty and in a tentative spirit his idea of karmayoga. "I do not believe that my present activity is less conducive to self-realization or merger in the Divine than abstention would be. Sannyasa is not cessation of all physical activity. It means to me cessation of all activity, mental or physical, that is selfish. If I could be convinced that cessation is the better way for me, I should adopt it at once" (p. 195). Disinterested activity was conducive to spiritual growth precisely because it helped to integrate life, which could not be divided into watertight compartments, some spiritual and others secular. "Politics, religion, social reform, economic uplift, all these form parts of a whole" (p. 172).

What made an activity spiritual was the tendency to preserve personal and social integrity, to bring people together rather than create conflicts. Gandhiji's social and political models were organic, not mechanical, and the forces he sought to develop and mobilize were *sattvik*, not *rajasik*. Passionately devoted as he was to the movement against untouchability, he would not bring it about by wrong means or by forsaking "gentleness, moderation and humility" (p. 132). Addressing a public meeting in Banaras he said: ". . . religion is not a subject to be understood by the intellect but one that is accepted by the heart. . . . I neither wish to force anyone nor do I wish to quarrel with anyone. None should be afraid of me. I can do no harm nor evil to sanatana dharma. I am also a follower of the same sanatana dharma that you profess" (p. 268).

In thus accepting by the heart a given situation as also the need to change it and to change it through common consent, he found the most valuable support from women, who "were spiritually superior to men" (p. 123) and who had greater capacity for sacrifice, suffering and patience and thus were more able and willing to safeguard religion (p. 113). A mother was inclined to shower special affection on a dull, stupid and crippled child (p. 114). Women were more ready to accept his plea: "Sinners we are all to a greater or less extent, and every one of our spiritual books—*Gita*, *Bhagavata*, and Tulsi *Ramayana*—declares in no uncertain terms that whoever seeks refuge in Him, whoever takes His name, shall be free from sin. That covenant is for all mankind" (p. 278). Indeed the *Gita* was not only his Mother, but the universal Mother (pp. 271-2). Assuming this mother-like role of serving the untouchables without disrupting society, Gandhiji described the predicament of the reformer thus: "Dr. Ambedkar

is . . . an intelligent . . . lawyer . . . . The magnitude of his sacrifice is great. . . . He leads a simple life. . . . But what is the condition of even a man like him in our society today? . . . Whose shame is this? How can one who has been put to such treatment be won over? At the same time we have to touch the heart of Shankaracharya. Those two are poles apart. How can they be brought together? We stand between these two. . . . we have to win over both of them with our sacrifice and tolerance" (p. 166-7).

With Gandhiji sacrifice often meant taking on himself vicarious responsibility for the lapses of his close associates. His well-tried method for communicating to vast masses of people the redemptive agony of his mother-heart was a fast. As he wrote to Vallabhbhai Patel (p. 168) and said again more emphatically to the Sind journalists: "The only language they understand is the language of the heart, and fasting when it is utterly unselfish is the language of the heart" (p. 171). The statement of July 10, 1934, described the proposed fast as the least penance owed to Pandit Lalnath and those sanatanists whom he represented and also a warning to his own supporters in the movement "that they must approach it with clean hands and hearts free from untruth and violence in thought, word and deed" (pp. 159-60). In a statement issued on August 6, a day before the fast, Gandhiji widened the appeal of the fast to cover Congressmen and spoke out against the acrimony and corruption in Congress elections, and said: "Though my fast has nothing to do with these unclean methods, how I wish Congress workers will detect my anguish in the words I have written and lighten it during the purification week by resorting to self-introspection and resolving to make the Congress an organization in keeping with its creed . . ." (pp. 297-8). This same call for "the purification of many", the warning against the two enemies, untruth and impurity, formed the main theme of the speech at the prayer meeting on the commencement of the fast. In an interview to the Press, he again stressed "the prime necessity of achieving internal purity" not only for Harijan workers but for the Congress, a powerful national organization, which would "perish unless it is sustained by the internal purity of those who compose that organization" (p. 316).

Gandhiji's letters to Jawaharlal Nehru are marked by complete candour, as was only natural between a senior and a junior colleague who understood each other perfectly and shouldered a common responsibility. When Jawaharlal was released by the Government owing to Kamala Nehru's illness, Gandhiji advised him not to make any political pronouncement, adding, "If my

argument appeals to your reason, you will announce your self-restraint in a fitting manner" (p. 303). On certain remarks of Jawaharlal Nehru on the trust for Anand Bhawan, Gandhiji said: "Your attitude betrays anger. . . . I would ask you not to take this matter so personally as you have done. . . . Let the nation be the custodian of Father's memory and you only as one of the nation" (p. 319). With persons with whom he enjoyed a sense of mutual belonging, he recognized an occasional right to demand obedience without carrying conviction. For example, he wrote to Narandas Gandhi: "You should follow my advice only if it appeals to your reason, or when I ask you to follow my instructions even if they do not appeal to your reason" (p. 378).

In a misunderstanding that arose in the Tyabji family when Raihana, "the strange mystic", misunderstood "the loving prejudices" of her parents, he reminded the girl, "Remember that you will not be you but for the training they gave you and the affection with which they have surrounded you . . ." (pp. 410-1). At the same time he wrote to the father, Abbas Tyabji, ". . . I would either let her have her way ungrudgingly and joyously or give her a separate house and maintenance and let her have her way" (p. 437). The same faith in the wisdom of each individual following his or her own path of growth prompted Gandhiji to advise Margarete Spiegel: "You should strive to be good according to the gifts God has given you. No two persons are alike in the world" (p. 53). Explaining how we are continually growing, he said in a letter to Premabehn Kantak: "Every day is one's birthday. We are born every day and we die every day and are born again" (p. 268).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the January 1969 edition.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to documents, M.M.U. to the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S.G. to the photostats of the Sevagram collection available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background meterial relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. APPEAL TO WORKERS

The day on which I am writing this is the sixth day of the walking pilgrimage.[1] By train and motor I would have covered probably seven hundred and fifty miles and would have nominally seen 1,50,000 people at least. On foot I have covered not more than 40 miles, the sixth day being my silence day, and come in touch with not less than 20,000 men and women.

My innermost feeling is that the work done is in inverse ratio to that between the artificial locomotion and the natural. The contact during the past five days has been more real between the villagers and myself. But, of these experiences, perhaps, some other time. The purpose of this note is to invite the co-operation of the whole of India. It was no small thing for the Utkal leaders all of a sudden to disturb the programme, which they had prepared with elaborate care and from the fulfilment of which they had expected to realize nothing less than Rs. 30,000 even from this the poorest province in all India. I had certainly set my heart on Rs. 50,000. But they had no hesitation, when the truth burst upon them, in sacrificing the pecuniary gain and risking the wrath of their lieutenants. Nor, when I approached Dr. B. C. Roy, had he any difficulty in sacrificing the Bengal programme practically altogether. I expect no difficulty from the other provinces. I must refuse to believe that they will fail to see the superior beauty of the walking tour over that of the train and motor travel.

But I ask for and expect much more than mere passive co-operation. I invite the active co-operation of all India. I expect the all-India workers to arrange simultaneous walking tours in their own provinces for the purpose of delivering the message and even collecting coppers and silver pieces from the people by way of purses to be sent to me, as they would have given if I had gone to them. There should be more intimate touch established between the workers and the Harijans and friendlier approach to the sanatanists. There should be a more real appre-

[1] Gandhiji renounced the use of conveyances at Puri on May 8, 1934, and on the following day walked to Hastinapur. *Vide* also Vol LVII, pp 466-7.

ciation of the difficulties and disabilities of the Harijans in the villages visited. There should be more temples opened, more Harijan children brought to public schools. Let the workers and the villagers believe that, inasmuch as I am walking to the Utkal villages, I am walking to theirs also. If mine is a spiritual act, it should have that value, the people should feel impelled to intensify their effort on behalf of the cause. This pilgrimage should result in the discovery of more workers and the increasing dedication of the existing ones.

Harijan, 18-5-1934

2. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA

May 18, 1934

BHAI BHAGWANJI[1],

The date on your letter is December 30, 1933, but that must be a mistake, as it came to my hand only yesterday. Never mind. I was glad to read about your happy experiences with Bhai Prabhashankar[2]. But they are irrelevant so far as I am concerned. I believe that one who is responsible for looking after the affairs of Ratilal[3] ought not to create difficulties about giving her share to a helpless sister in Jeki's[4] position. One needn't cite the example of Chhaganlal[5] in this matter. Can a wise man take cover behind the conduct of an ignorant man? All of us know that Chhaganlal is ignorant. I, therefore, don't understand what made you write such a long letter. If you have understood my point, please use your intelligence and your influence to see that the sisters get their share from Ratilal at any rate.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5823. Also C.W. 3046. Courtesy: Bhagwanji A. Mehta

[1] A lawyer of Saurashtra

[2] Prabhashankar Parekh, Ratilal's father-in-law

[3] Dr Pranjivan Mehta's second son

[4] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta's younger daughter Jayakunvar, wife of Manilal Doctor

[5] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta's eldest son

3. SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, PATNA–I

May 18, 1934

Whilst congratulating the movers of the several amendments, I may say that their speeches have only strengthened me in the opinion expressed in my statement.[1] I have found nothing in them to induce me to alter my decision. Indeed I am surprised to see that none of the speakers has taken me to task for advising the suspension of civil resistance for everyone except myself.

On the contrary, all the amendments are unanimous in demanding the suspension of civil resistance. This fact surprises me, but does not pain me. It only shows that my decision has come not a moment too soon. In asking me, however, to go a step further and give up the idea of offering civil resistance myself, you want to deprive me of my individual liberty of action. It is undoubtedly open to you to repudiate my claim to represent the Congress in my civil resistance. I can understand and even appreciate such a repudiation on behalf of the Congress.

Individual civil resistance as laid down by the Poona Conference[2] was to be offered in the name of the Congress and the proposition before you is but a modification of the Poona decision. Civil resistance was then restricted to an indefinite number; now it is restricted to one single individual. The very fact of my approaching you for approval is evidence of my desire to act in the name of, and with the authority of, the Congress, but in case you do not see your way to giving me that authority, you may not still deprive me of the liberty of individual action, for that would mean wiping me out of existence itself. I would not hesitate even to wipe myself out, if I were convinced that the step would lead to an advance in the progress of India onwards her goal.

My conviction on the contrary is that India will not win swaraj by depriving a single individual of his freedom of action. A speaker has said, I claim to bring swaraj by my single action when he says "swaraj won by one man is no good to the nation". He only quotes from my own words. I have said from a thousand platforms to the school of violence that even if they

[1] *Vide* Vol. LVII, pp. 348-50.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LV, pp. 262 and 265-6.

succeeded in achieving swaraj by taking the lives of some English and Indian officials, it would be swaraj for themselves, but not for the masses of India and one should not know whose lives they would take next.

Civil resistance is a complete substitute for violence. Through it everyone has to achieve his own swaraj. This weapon has given spirit and new strength to the masses. Legislative work cannot rouse the masses. I would like you to come with me for a few days and see the truth of what I say. I have never tried to force my decisions on you. I have no power but that of gentle persuasion. I only urge you not to coerce me to act against my cherished conviction.

Lala Dunichand[1] has asked me not to 'infringe the limits' of the constitution which I had a hand in framing. To him I may say that I am a civil resister because I am a constitutionalist by instinct. That is the very reason why I have come to you as your representative. I have no desire to go beyond the four corners of the Congress constitution.

If I have failed to carry conviction to you, you will refuse to me that authority, but I only plead for the liberty of individual action. The decision is not an outcome of despair. I am an optimist and never give way to despair. My desire is born of an unshakable faith in non-violent resistance.

It is surely for the General to decide the time for and the manner of action. The General has to be convinced of the soldiers' capacity to act at a given moment. The conditions of service are to be laid down by the General who has no physical force at his command. He can only appeal to his soldiers' reason and heart. My sole civil resistance is no reflection on any one of you.

All these years I was not unaware of the limitations under which I was working, but the time came when it became necessary to cry a halt if the weapon was not to suffer discredit. It is open to you to accept or reject the advice of your General. In a non-violent struggle it is the General who can dismiss his soldiers. The latter can dismiss him if his terms do not appeal to them.

This is no threat; in any case, I will continue to be a member of the Congress, but will not claim to be its representative. What would be the matter if a year or two more elapse before your faith in him will be restored. The General in a non-violent struggle has no powers of punishment. He has no

[1] A Congress worker of Ambala

authority to compel obedience to his commands; his authority rests on his power of persuasion. To ask such a General to alter his course of action is to force him to act against his judgment. You are at perfect liberty to dismiss the General if his commands are obnoxious to you.

I do not say it out of anger. If I were to be angry with you for rejecting my advice, I should be unfit to offer civil disobedience. I claim to be amenable to reason. Even children have shed all fear of me and have been able to make me bend to their will. I have not harmed flies even when pestered by them. Why should you be afraid to order such a man to vacate places if that is your desire? I tell you it will not pain me. On the contrary, I will thank you for your frankness, but if you decide to retain your General, you should cease to demur and should follow his discipline.

It is open to you not to accept his discipline, but once you accept it, you should feel yourself bound to obey his command. One of the speakers has told me that spirituality is a thing I have newly introduced in politics on this occasion. A friend here reminds me of a resolution[1] passed by the Working Committee on the eve of the Dandi March in 1930, and the preamble to that resolution contains the same thing as I have said in this statement. It was there with the approval of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru. The preamble lays down in clear terms that the struggle should be started and carried on by those who believed in truth and non-violence not as a policy, but as a creed. Therefore, I was authorized to start and carry on the struggle and Congressmen were ordered to assist in it.

What I say today is not different from what was said in that preamble. Of course, those who look up civil resistance as a political weapon came to the struggle, but they were expected to be loyal to the creed and to the discipline required of them, while they remained in the struggle. I expected them to be loyal to it in the same way as a jailor protects in thought, word and deed the prisoner, who may be guilty of murder and is in his charge for the time being. If you choose to follow my lead, you have to accept my conditions. If not, you will leave me free to follow the course I consider best, no matter even if I am alone.

The Bardoli decision[2] of 1922, which the late Hakim Saheb and Dr. Ansari could accept with the utmost difficulty, was a step

[1] On February 15, 1930, at Ahmedabad, *vide* Vol. XLII, p 480

[2] The reference is to the Working Committee's resolution to suspend the mass civil disobedience; *vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 377-81.

that saved the country from an ignominious defeat and destruction. It brought it sufficiently home to the masses that there was no room for violence in a peaceful struggle. Those who had taken part in the recent struggle have been free from violence in deed. God alone knows how far we were non-violent in thought. It may be admitted that we were not non-violent to the same degree in word.

Our non-violence was for a great part confined to deed. If the country learns the art of going to prison and the art of practising non-violence as the Pathans have done, we should be within easy reach of swaraj. I am unrepentant about the Bardoli decision and consider it to have been an act of wise statesmanship. Even so do I consider the present advice. My heart is supposed to be extremely soft, and I know that it is as hard as steel.

I am helpless if you read into the statement a meaning that is unwarranted. The person whom I have mentioned in the beginning of the statement is to me as dear as a son. I have no charge against him; I found fault not with him, but with myself. He is at present travelling with me. If I have not passed judgment against him, how could I have done so against others? But when I see that our laxity has gone so far as to injure the cause, I shall be guilty of breach of trust if I did not cry a halt and warn members that far severer discipline and keener appreciation of the necessity of non-violence in thought, word and deed had to be expected before the people could be called upon to re-engage in the struggle.

I said a few words about the Frontier. I feel with the same acuteness about Bengal. I know what is happening in Bengal today. There are some Bengalis who blame me for what they consider my neglect of the woes of Bengal. Some of them repudiate my claim to represent Bengal. I represent no other province, if I don't represent Bengal. I am an admirer of the poetry and emotion of Bengal. I am tied to my province by silken cords of love, but today I am helpless. My lips have been sealed under my vow[1].

Do not I feel sore about the incarceration of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, whose faith in non-violence is stronger than ours?

[1] On his unconditional release from Yeravda Prison after being sentenced for one year's simple imprisonment on August 4, 1933; *vide* Vol. LV, pp. 341-3 Gandhiji had resolved not to offer satyagraha but to do Harijan work for the remaining period of the sentence, i.e., up to August 3, 1934.

Both the brothers have assimilated non-violence to an extraordinary degree. I understand that they read the message of non-violence in every verse of the Koran. Should I as a General leave them to their fate and look on their incarceration with philosophical indifference? Jawaharlal Nehru has been clapped in jail and Sardar Vallabhbhai who was jocularly called "a blind follower of Gandhi" as he said ditto to all that I said. Do you think that he had no intelligence? He was a bigger barrister than myself. He had made his name as a criminal lawyer. He said ditto to what I said because he was convinced of the wisdom of my proposal. Shall I leave these men in prison and revert or let you revert to a life of ease and luxury? I ask you to remain out for the same purpose for which they have gone to jail.

I want you to remain outside not to live a life of comfort and luxury. I want you to remain outside to embrace voluntary poverty. In any future struggle none of you will get allowances for dependents who remain behind. There is no want of work outside the prisons. You can offer your lives to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. Will you neglect khadi and hope to win freedom for the villagers? Then there is untouchability. For you, who will be outside, there will be neither peace nor rest. I have put before you not a single item that has not been included in the Congress programme ever since 1920. You may work out that programme to the full and you will be entitled then and then only, to ask me to refrain from going to jail.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-5-1934 and 21-5-1934

4. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

[Before *May 19, 1934*][1]

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

I got your letter and the wire. I am sending a letter to Dr. Jivaraj [Mehta] but I shall not write to Dr. Sharma. It is not right of you to send for him in this way. If need be you can find someone in Bombay.

With reference to your remarks on Dr. Sharma's diet, I shall write to him.[2] I must receive letters from you regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] From the postscript
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Hiralal Sharma", p. 19.

[PS.]

In Patna till the 19th, afterwards Cuttack.

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 596

5. RESOLUTION ON COUNCIL-ENTRY[1]

PATNA,
May 19, 1934

Inasmuch as there exists in the Congress a large body of members who believe in the necessity of entry into the legislatures as a step in the country's progress towards its goal, the All-India Congress Committee hereby appoints Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. M. A. Ansari to form a Board with Dr. M. A. Ansari as president, called the Congress Parliamentary Board, consisting of not more than 25 Congressmen.

The Board shall run to control the elections of members to the legislatures on behalf of the Congress, and shall have the power to raise, possess and administer funds for carrying out its duties. The Board shall be subject to the control of the All-India Congress Committee, and shall have the power to frame its constitution, make rules and regulations from time to time for the management of its affairs

The constitution and the rules and regulations shall be placed before the Working Committee for approval but shall be in force, pending the approval or otherwise of the Working Committee. The Board shall select only such candidates as will be pledged to carry out in the legislatures the Congress policy as it will be determined from time to time.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-5-1931

[1] Adopted at the Working Committee meeting in the morning; the resolution was moved by Gandhiji at A.I.C.C. meeting held at 3 p.m. in Radhika Sinha Institute, Patna. Dr M. A. Ansari seconded it. For Gandhiji's speech on the resolution, *vide* the following item.

6. *SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, PATNA–II*[1]

May 19, 1934

It is in the fitness of things that I have been asked to move this resolution[2], for the idea of boycott of legislatures, so far as I know, had originated with me. I fought for years with some of my most valued comrades in the Congress for a rigid observance of that boycott, but an influential minority always thought it to be a mistake.

When, therefore, we met in an informal conference[3] at Poona in July last year and Messrs Satyamurti and Asaf Ali came to me to lift the council-entry boycott, I suggested their forming a council-entry party of Congressmen.

Let us trace the history of the boycott. The country accepted it in 1920, and it gave the country a new life. No one could miss seeing that wonderful manifestation. But when in 1922, civil resistance was suspended, council-entry programme came and crystallized itself in the formation of the Swaraj Party which first received Congress recognition, and in 1926, took charge of the Congress organization.

In 1929, at the instance of Pandit Motilal Nehru, leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, the boycott of legislatures was resumed. But even then, there remained a body of Congressmen who did not like the resumption of boycott. And now that there is a virtual suspension of civil resistance, the demand for return to legislatures has resulted in the revival of the Swaraj Party under the leadership of no less a veteran 'No-changer' than Dr. Ansari.

I regard myself as a practical idealist. I shall retain my disbelief in legislatures as an instrument for obtaining swaraj in terms of masses. But I see that I have failed to wean some of the Congressmen from their faith in council-entry. The question therefore is whether they should or should not enforce their desire to enter legislature as Congress representatives. I have no doubt that they must have the recognition they want. Not to

[1] Gandhiji spoke in Hindi.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* Vol. LV, pp. 262 and 265-6.

give it, will be to refuse to make use of the talents we possess. These patriots, every whit as staunch as any of us, were idle and discontented for want of political work, strictly so-called. Their discontent affected others, and there was a general paralysis. For Congressmen, as a whole, have never taken kindly to purely constructive work, such as the spinning-wheel. I could not look at this state of things with indifference. When therefore Dr. Ansari wrote to me I had no hesitation in encouraging him to form a Parliamentary Party of Congressmen. Now that by Government sufferance we have met as lawful body, it is but meet that we give recognition to Dr. Ansari's effort. Hence the resolution is before you.

The virtual suspension of civil resistance makes the resolution doubly necessary. I call it virtual, because it is now strictly restricted to one individual. By this resolution, we create a Board which will be entrusted with the carrying on of the work inside legislatures. It will be an autonomous body like the All-India Spinners' Association with one difference. The All-India Spinners' Association is subject to no interference from the All-India Congress Committee or the Congress, whilst the Parliamentary Party will be subject to the discipline of the All-India Congress Committee because the latter would, from time to time, have to express its opinion on political questions cropping up in the country. The All-India Congress Committee naturally wants its political opinion reflected through the Parliamentary Board in legislatures, and would, therefore, expect Congressmen in legislatures to voice its opinion. In all other respects, it will be an autonomous body.

Some of the Provincial Congress Committees have expressed the view that the All-India Congress Committee, instead of creating a separate Board, should itself undertake council work. The Working Committee considered the suggestion, and rejected it as unworkable.

I have cherished the hope that all Congressmen do not want to enter legislatures and that all of us do not have the faith in the councils that the parliamentary-minded section has. I have tried so far to put before you the view of the council-goers. They hope to reap limited benefit for the nation through the councils. There is no doubt in my mind that the benefit would be insignificant, when compared to the energy that must be spent on it. The All-India Congress Committee must not be an exclusively parliamentary body. It must represent and regulate all the national activities of the Congressmen. It must interest itself in

the great constructive programme of 1920 including khadi, Hindu-Muslim unity, untouchability, prohibition, national education, organization of villages, village industries, and industrial labour and the like. The parliamentary work must be left to those who are so inclined. I hope that the majority will always remain untouched by the glamour of council work.

In its own place, it will be useful. But the Congress will commit suicide if its attention is solely devoted to legislative work. Swaraj will never come that way. Swaraj can only come through an all-round consciousness of the masses.

Two of my comrades came to me this afternoon agitated and remonstrated with me. They feared that the present course of action would result ultimately in converting the whole Congress into a council-going party. I said I had no such fear. The 'No-changer' must be weak of faith, if he could not survive the competition of the glittering council programme. I therefore feel that the resolution I have moved exactly meets the case. The Swarajist resolution[1] at Ranchi had to be self-contained, and therefore full. It was taken to meet the remote eventuality of the All-India Congress Committee never being able to meet. Since it has met, the Working Committee resolution is the fittest way of confirming the Ranchi decision. The All-India Congress Committee does not need to reiterate what the Ranchi resolution was bound to do.

The question has been asked why two members have been authorized to appoint other members. I have always seen that in a well-regulated democracy, those who are invested with power are trusted to use that power judiciously. If you believe in the integrity of the two gentlemen named in the resolution, you must also have trust in them that they will appoint fully competent men on the Board. It would be wrong to thrust upon them members who may not co-operate with them to the extent they desire. When we give the reins of a particular administration into the hands of someone, he should be left free to choose his own colleagues. The Congress, following my advice, has made of it a convention. Regarding the Working Committee, I had not the courage to incorporate the rule into the Constitution, but we have learnt by experience that the convention has worked well. The President chooses his own colleagues. Your sanction to the choice has become a formal affair.

[1] Of the conference of the Swaraj Party held on May 2 and 3, 1934. *Vide* also p. 13.

When the Bihar Earthquake Committee met, I went a step further, and the resolution gave power to the President Rajendrababu to choose his own colleagues. I advise the same course for the formation of the Board.

Now a word as to the competence of the All-India Congress Committee to pass this resolution. The Chairman has given his ruling. I wish to defend the step on its merits. If the Congress were in session today, naturally it alone could undo what it has done. But in an emergency, the All-India Congress Committee is bound to do all that the Congress can do when in session. It may not shirk the duty cast upon it. The Congress can review the doings of the All-India Congress Committee if it wishes. You may not put the nation to the expense of calling a session, when you have the authority and duty of acting.

I do not propose to detain you over an examination of the amendments. It is right for the members to suggest amendments. But when the member in charge of the resolution cannot see his way to accept your amendments, it is better to withdraw them or reject the resolution, if his reasons for not accepting the amendments do not appeal to you. The ablest painter has not yet produced a painting that has not evoked some criticism. If he were to incorporate all the criticisms into his picture it would become a daub. The resolution drawn up after much trouble is like a picture to be dropped or taken. It may not be tampered with except when the author is convinced of his error.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-5-1934

7. *INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"*

May 20, 1934

Gandhiji left Patna early morning by the Sealdah Express and was seen off by a large number of people. Tired as he was, he hardly failed, except for a brief while when he was asleep, to stretch his hand across the window at every passing station and ask for "coppers" for his Harijan work and got silvers in plenty. This was for *darshan* alone, but if one wanted a brief interview ten rupees cash down was the price. He said:

In trains, I do nothing else except collect funds for Harijans.

At Mokameh station, a Bengali rushed in and told Gandhiji that he had Rs. 1,001 to be given away to the Harijan Fund. The Mahatma was all

smiles and stretched out his hand. But the Bengali gentleman said: "But you must come to Calcutta and take it. We shall give you plenty more"

[CORRESPONDENT.] Now that the All-India Congress Committee has passed a resolution accepting your statement of 7th April and making you sole civil resister on behalf of the Congress, can you kindly tell me how and when you propose to give effect to it if at all?

GANDHIJI: I cannot tell you how, because I myself do not know. So far as the date is concerned, it was fixed when I was put out of the Yeravda Prison. Beyond that all is a perfect blank to me as to anybody else. But I must repeat what I stated at the time I was discharged, that I would strain every nerve to prevent civil resistance from becoming a necessity.

[C.] Your resolution[1] sanctioning council-entry is different from the Ranchi resolution in so far as yours makes no reference to the White Paper and does not define the Congress attitude towards it Can you tell me the significance of the resolution as apart from the Ranchi resolution and the attitude which in your opinion should be taken by Congressmen in regard to the Ranchi resolution?

[G.] The Ranchi resolution was an independent resolution enabling the Swarajists to know their own mind and to enable them to function if it became impossible, from circumstances beyond the control of their organization, to obtain recognition from the All-India Congress Committee. But the All-India Congress Committee having been allowed to meet, there was no occasion for that body to adopt the resolutions of the Ranchi Conference. It was enough for the All-India Congress Committee to appropriate the Council Party and turn it into its own agency for the purpose of working the political programme of the Congress. And it was unnecessary to define the attitude of the Congress towards the White Paper, as that attitude is well known. The Congress can accept nothing that is inconsistent with its objective, namely, the attainment of *purna* swarajya.

Asked whether he intended the Swarajya Party to be dissolved, Mahatma replied:

This question I have already answered in reply to your previous one. The Swarajists have become part of the Congress organization.

By the time the interview concluded, the train had reached Jahajah where, it may be remembered, not long ago an anti-Harijan demonstration

[1] *Vide* p 8.

pelted stones at Mahatmaji's car smashing the glass window. The demonstration today at this place was of the friendliest nature, more than a thousand people having gathered on the platform and continuously shouted "*Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai*" and pelted the author of the Harijan movement with flowers. Gandhiji, however, told the crowds that what he wanted was not flowers, but money.

The Hindu, 21-5-1934

8. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDUSTAN TIMES"[1]

May 21, 1934

Q. What are your impressions about the All-India Congress Committee meeting?

A. Considering the revoluionary character of the two resolutions, the criticism was restrained, and the voting showed an extraordinary sense of responsibility and appreciation of facts. The attendance, too, was quite good.

Q. Do you think it will be necessary for you to offer civil disobedience in pursuance of the permission given to you by the All-India Congress Committee?

A. There is the 3rd August next in front of me, but what will happen that day is more than I can say.[2] I have no preconceived plans. Sufficient unto the day is the work thereof.

Q How do you look upon the emergence of the Socialist group within the Congress? Have you any message in this connection?

A. I welcome the emergence. And if it acts, as I am sure it will act, with due restraint and in keeping with the special conditions of the country, it can only do good. I understand that it is pledged to non-violent methods to the exclusion of violent methods.

Q. How do you expect Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai and Abdul Ghaffar Khan to view your advice to the country?

A. I have no doubt that, if they had been out they would have acted precisely as I have. How, being in jail, that is,

[1] Gandhiji got down at Byree and walked to Gandhi Seva Ashram at Champapurhat It being his day of silence, he wrote down his answers.

[2] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 6.

being ignorant of the outside world at first hand, they would view its proceedings is surely an illegitimate question.

The Hindustan Times, 22-5-1934

9. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

May 21, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have read Elwin's[1] letter. I return it separately to save postage. After I have seen his institution it seems that we shall have to help him. From where does he get the money at present? How does he teach music? Who else is there with him besides Shamrao?

Non-vegetarian food seems indispensable for him. He has not enough faith [in non-violence] to be able to live on fruit and milk. But he need not be denied help because of his food habits. If, however, he stops spinning or slackens in it, I don't think we should ignore that. He may give up spinning entirely if he has no faith in it. I do not wish to say that he should be helped only if he continues to spin. What I want is that he must be truthful. All that is necessary is that whatever work is done, should be done sincerely. Elwin, being a good and simple-hearted man, may deceive himself. It is therefore necessary that friends should watch him.

Dr. Ansari's plan for a party[2] must have been finalized. You should take enough interest in the matter at least to see that everything goes well. Rajaji also should take interest in it. Having brought in Malaviyaji, we should help him and also see that he does no harm, which he can either by delaying or by acting hastily.

Did you see the programme up to July? It will help workers at most places to see me if they wish to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G N. 2933

[1] Verrier Elwin

[2] The Congress had appointed a Parliamentary Board under the presidentship of Dr. Ansari for contesting elections to the Central Legislative Assembly; *vide* p. 8.

10. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

CHAMPAPURHAT (UTKAL),
May 22, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter the day before. It is about three o'clock just now. Everybody in the . . .[1] Ashram has fallen. We arrived here yesterday (Monday). Our good friend Masani of the Socialist Party is with us. He is returning to Bombay today. Agatha[2] also is with us. She will leave in about four days. Ceresole[3] will join today. He will remain with me for three or four days. Muriel[4], too, is coming. She will stay for two days. I don't give the names of the other local workers who are accompanying me. This tour on foot will end in Balasore on the 12th. It has been decided that after that we should stop walking and I should spend a few days in each province, doing the work from a fixed place. The programme is as follows: I should reach Bombay on the 14th and from there go to Poona on the 17th. Thereafter I go to Ahmedabad on the 26th and from there proceed to Sind. I will spend three days in Sind and three in Lahore and then go to the U. P. I am enclosing a copy of the programme. It is, however, subject to changes. I had called workers from all provinces to meet me in Patna. They were of the view that I must visit every province. It was finally decided that I should visit every province and stay in one place for a few days. It will be the time of the monsoon then and walking will probably be difficult. You have already read about the decision taken at Patna. Please rest assured that what has happened is the best. That is what the people desired, and they were only waiting for me to agree. But acute differences arose as soon as the first step was taken. There is no limit to the goodness and patience of Ansari and Malaviyaji and to Dr. Roy's overbearing temper. Let us see what happens now. I will send with this a fine word picture drawn

[1] Omission as in the source

[2] Agatha Harrison

[3] Pierre Ceresole, Swiss Engineer, who had come to India in connection with the Bihar earthquake relief work

[4] Muriel Lester

by Sushila[1]. Probably Om[2] also will write. I will ask Agatha to write, too.

Ba has been released. She will first go to Wardha and Delhi and then join us somewhere.

I wished to spend Rs. 5,000 from the Flood Relief Fund for Harijan victims of similar calamities but I was told that you had given instructions not to spend any amount from that Fund. I, therefore, got only Rs. 1,000. I thought it necessary to ask you before drawing more. Please write and tell me what instruction you remember to have given or what your wishes are.

Surendra[3] is fasting in Wardha. He is doing so only for the sake of his health. The jail food has broken the health of even stalwarts. Narandas suffered from bleeding nostrils and came out of jail an old man. Swami's iron constitution also has broken down. The same thing happened to Surendra. A diet of pure starch and fat was not adequate. I see that milk and curds are essential. Manilal's Sushila has given birth to a son. Manilal hasn't informed me at all about this. I have lost all interest in this growth of the family-tree. My only feeling is one of profound sadness. However, who can thwart Nature? Or we can adopt the European way (birth-control) and sing: "Come, let us enjoy ourselves, Beautiful-eyed One, but prevent the natural consequence of our indulgence." I can't help feeling that we shall not gain spiritual knowledge if we follow that path. So long as Death remains unconquerable, nothing that Man does will avail him. Hence the first verse of the *Ishopanishad*. Do you remember it? I used to recite that Upanishad every day in jail, trying to memorize the verses. If you don't remember them and if you wish, I will send you a copy of the Upanishad. It contains only 18 verses. The author has compressed all knowledge within that short compass. There is no difference between its teaching and the *Gita's*. What is present in it in the form of a seed has become a beautiful tree in the *Gita*. I will stop here now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 102-3

[1] Sushila Pai, then head mistress of the Vanita Vishram, Rajkot, who later became Secretary of the Kasturba Memorial Trust

[2] Umadevi Bajaj

[3] An inmate of the Ashram

11. LETTER TO AMRIT LAL CHATTERJEE[1]

May 22, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 1447. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

12. LETTER TO LALJI K. PARMAR

May 22, 1934

CHI. LALJI,

I got your letter. I was pleased. My effort will have succeeded if you now remain vigilant and go on improving daily. Write to me from time to time. Do you get any pay? How do you live?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3296

13. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

May 22, 1934

CHI. AMALA,

My condolences on the loss of your companion, the squirrel. You are right in thinking that those round you do not act up to the principle they profess. They do not realize that mere refraining from killing is not enough. It is necessary to show active sympathy for sufferers.

[1] According to the addressee this was an acknowledgment of a report on civil resisters and Harijan sevaks; *vide* Vol. LVII, p. 426.

You should not be anxious about me. The march will do me good. I am certainly keeping well.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Enclosed[1] for Lalji living there.

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

14. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHARMA

May [19 and][2] 23, 1934

BHAI SHARMA,

Amtussalaam has much praise for you and only one complaint, i.e., you have lost much weight and that you have cut down on your food. I would like to say only this much that exposing the body to unnecessary hardship is as much a crime as the pampering of it. Hence all that is required to conserve the body should be done.

All this was written four days ago[3]. I have your letter now. You can come to me whenever you wish but without deserting the patients there. My itinerary must be with you. My work will keep me here till June 12, after that possibly in Bombay.

It will take some time for your wish to fructify. I want you to gain in steadfastness. But all this can only be talked over. For the time being it is to the good that you are winning the hearts of the people there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48,* between pp. 68 and 69

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Inferred from the contents
[3] That is, on May 19, 1934

15. *LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI*[1]

LAKHANPUR,
May 23, 1934

I have gone through your Temple-entry Bill and I like its general approach. If you polish it now and make it as short as possible and send it to me, I will publish it in *Harijan*.

SJT. KANAIYALAL MUNSHI
GILBERT BUILDING
BABULNATH ROAD, BOMBAY

From Gujarati: C.W. 7538. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

16. *LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI*

[*May 23, 1934*][2]

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I have your letter. I won't be able to come to Bhavnagar. The plan of touring on foot has changed the whole programme. In every province that I visit, I will camp in one town and do what I can from there. Touring on foot cannot be continued in the rainy season, and all the provinces want a share in the programme. I, therefore, have decided on a compromise as above. I hope you are well. I take it that you will send your contribution to the purse to Ahmedabad. It will do even if you send it here.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. [illegible]. Also C.W. [illegible]. Courtesy: Mahesh P. Pattani

[1] The message was conveyed in a letter of even date from Sushila Pai to the addressee.

[2] From the postmark

17. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

May 23, 1934

CHI. VASUMATI,

Why do you feel unhappy when you don't receive a letter from me? I have always assumed that I can postpone writing to you to the last. I want you to remain where you are and improve your health. If you have come to have faith in Dr. Sharma, continue his treatment. You should now learn not to be upset by the other troubles.

Tell Surendra that, if Dr. Sharma's treatment continues, he need not come to me just now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S N. 9386. Also C.W. 631. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

18. LETTER TO P. NIRUPAMA

May 23, 1934

CHI. NIRUPAMA,

I have your letter. The language is good. Ornaments are unnecessary; they tend to create in the girls fascination for external beauty. There should be much less fondness for ornaments in a poor country. All these reasons go against ornaments.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUMARI P. NIRUPAMA
C/o SHRI P. MANJUNATH NAYAK
SUDAMA KUTEER, UDIPI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9223

19. TELEGRAM TO INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS

SALIPUR,
May 24, 1934

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS
POONA

JUST HEAR KAKASAHEB KALELKAR HYDERABAD JAIL. LOST WEIGHT SUFFERING. ALSO THAT HE IS NOT ALLOWED SLEEP OPEN AIR. PLEASE WIRE TRUE CONDITION.

GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, 800 (40) (4), Pt. II, p. 177

20. LETTER TO D. K. KARVE

AS AT CUTTACK,
May 24, 1934

DEAR PROF. KARVE,

I have just received your letter of 15th May last. It will give me great joy if the dispute between you and the executors of the will of the late Sir Vitthaldas is amicably settled. And whether it is amicably settled or not, I would like the appeal that has been made for donations to your University to receive a generous response. It is a tragedy that a man of your amazing industry and great devotion to the ideal that he has set before himself should feel the want of funds for the cause to which he has dedicated his life. If this letter enables you or the organizers of the appeal to get help from quarters which were hitherto closed against you I should feel delighted.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PROF. D. K. KARVE
SHREEMATI NATHIBAI DAMODHER THACKERSEY
INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY
YERANDAWANA, KARVE ROAD, POONA 4

From a facsimile: *Mahatma*, Vol. III, facing p. 344

21. LETTER TO G. V. SUBBA RAO

AS AT CUTTACK,
May 24, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I confess that I have not been able to go through the *Goshti* from page to page, but I have glanced through it. But I am sorry that your argument does not make any appeal to me. I have no repentance over the choice of co-workers. Moreover my decision was not prompted by any sense of repentance or blunder. The decision in Poona was not an error. It could not be otherwise than it was. The experiment of individual civil disobedience had to be made. Confining it to me alone at that time would have been highly improper as not to do so now would have been cowardly on my part. Those who have understood the decision do not feel at all that they allow me to immolate myself whilst they look on unconcerned. Their immolation would perhaps be far more difficult than mine. Nevertheless you must continue your criticism fearlessly. Who knows some day your criticisms may open my eyes to my many errors of judgment as you conceive them? And then what does it matter if I remain unrepentant so long as your criticism does not appeal to me?

Yes, I glanced through the letter of Gopalakrishnayya.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. G. V. SUBBA RAO
SECRETARY, ANDHRA CONGRESS SWARAJYA PARTY
BEZWADA

From a photostat: G.N. 3627

22. *LETTER TO CHARU PROBHA SEN GUPTA*

AS AT CUTTACK,
May 24, 1934

MY DEAR CHARU PROBHA,

I am sorry I am not going to Bengal. What can I do? How nice it would have been if you had not gone away from Puri. I would have made you walk at least to the first village, and I know you would have enjoyed it apart from its religious merit.

Love.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 1491. Courtesy: A. K. Sen. Also G.N. 8705

23. *LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI*[1]

May 24, 1934

I have received a wire from Sheth Mathuradas. I will arrive in Bombay about June 14. You may now do what is necessary.

From Gujarati: C.W. 7539. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

24. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

May 24, 1934

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Here is another letter from . . . [2]. Nothing will be gained by letting those two remain in the same condition. . . . should be taken on travels. I find it necessary to create new interests for her. . . .'s[3] problem presents more difficulty. What should be done about him? All that I can see is that he will be unable to do anything to help himself. He requires a companion who can influence him to some extent and whose advice he can take.

[1] The message was conveyed in a letter of even date from Sushila Pai to the addressee.

[2] & [3] The names have been omitted.

The idea of taking a trip to Calcutta has come to nothing. Now you can come down only if you have to see me. We shall see after consulting Thakkar Bapa.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 7960. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

25. NOTE

AVOID EXAGGERATION

Pandit Lalnath draws my attention to the fact that some newspapers which favour removal of untouchability have exaggerated the Deoghar incident and ascribed to those who delivered lathi blows on the hood of my car, designs upon my life. There is no warrant for ascribing any murderous motive to the authors of the demonstration. From the same source comes an unsigned printed leaflet which threatens death to those who might arrange demonstrations against the reformers. I refuse to believe that this anonymous leaflet is the work of any responsible body or person at all. So far as I know, no injury was done and no counter-demonstration was made against sanatanists in Calcutta on the day which they had fixed for anti-Temple-entry Bill demonstration. Nevertheless, I cannot be too insistent on reformers being and remaining non-violent in thought, word and deed. Let them ignore these sanatanist demonstrations. So far as I have seen, and I could not help seeing, these sanatanist demonstrations have little, if any, backing from the public. In any case, we have to win them over by showing regard for their sentiments. We must not repel or acerbate them by making irritating or offensive remarks about their activity.

Harijan, 25-5-1934

26. *WILL THEY DO IT?*

Since I have taken up the walking pilgrimage, hundreds of villagers have been following the pilgrims. Some even talk about their woes. Thus, whilst I was reaching Sakhigopal, a representative weaver himself told me that the weavers were in great distress as there was no demand for their cloth.[1] I told him I had prophesied fifteen years ago that it would not be possible for them to co-exist with mills, so long as they used mill yarn, and that the natural supplier and sustainer of the handloom was the spinning-wheel. In his reply I heard, to the best of my recollection, for the first time, 'Give us hand-spun and we shall weave it.'

'I will, if you will do as I tell you', said I.

'We will', the old man replied. The weaver was an old man with a bent back.

I was overjoyed at his replies and said, 'That is very good. Then I would teach you, your wife and your children how to gin, card and spin. You will then have enough yarn for your loom. You will spin good, strong, even yarn, you will avoid waste. I shall expect you from your first out-turn to take your khaddar for your own use and then I shall buy all the surplus khaddar you weave. I shall try to become a member of your family and give you the benefit of my experience. Thus, I shall ask you to give up drink and intoxicating drugs if you are addicted to them. I shall go through your family budget and wean you from incurring debts.'

The old man's face lightened up and he said, 'We shall surely follow your advice. At present, starvation stares us in the face.' I asked him to bring some of his friends to see me at 3 o'clock at the Gopabandhu Ashram in Sakhigopal.

He came with his friends, I repeated much of the morning conversation and said, 'I know you can't spin at once enough yarn to start your looms. I shall, therefore, supply you with enough yarn to start with for the most promising families. By the time you have woven it, you will have spun enough to feed your looms. The first khaddar you weave from this supplied yarn will be taken over from you. For the second lot, if you have not yet enough yarn of your own, I will again supply you with

[1] The meeting took place on May 10, 1934.

some. After that you should become self-supporting and you should make all your own family requirements of cloth and then only sell the surplus.

I regard this as an experiment of the highest importance and potency. There are probably ten million weavers in India. No one has the correct number, to the thousand even. But ten million is a safe guess. If these added all the previous processes to the art of weaving, they would not only ensure their own existence, but cheapen khaddar to the lowest possible limit and turn out much more durable and beautiful khaddar than has yet been produced.

The readers of *Harijan* know that there are in the Central Provinces several Harijan weaver families which do their own carding and spinning. I would add to this ginning. The future of khaddar can be assured if the weavers realize the necessity, for their own sakes, of themselves doing all the processes antecedent to weaving.

Harijan, 25-5-1934

27. DISCUSSION WITH M. R. MASANI AND N. R. MALKANI[1]

May 25, 1934

M. Is your main difference as to method or do you suspect that socialism is based on violence?

G. It is not a matter of suspicion but of fact. Violence need not be physical. Your socialistic system is based on coercion.

M. But coercion is used not as an end It is for the good of the many.

G. Violence is impatience and non-violence is patience. Great reforms cannot be introduced without great patience. In violence lies the germ of future failure. For instance, take 100 persons—5 armed and powerful, who could chop off the heads of

[1] In his introductory note to this, N. R. Malkani, who was Gandhiji's acting secretary, stated that these notes had the "advantage of having been passed by Gandhiji". Malkani wrote: "It was Friday, the 25th of May, 1934, and we had to walk five miles in the morning from Sisua to Patpur. . . . Gandhiji walked barefooted with a cloth on his head, the right hand on Masani's shoulder, the left on mine; his words instructing us, his hands now soothing and now restraining us; and 'M' in this talk stands to the credit of both Masani and Malkani indifferently. . . ."

the helpless 95 if they would oppose them. That would be complete failure for the five. But suppose that someone of the 95 kills these five and acquires power, without the desire of the remaining 94, you cannot say that the new rule will be good for all. It may only mean one bad rule followed by another bad rule.

M. But one could not snatch power without the desire and active co-operation of the 94.

G. We have assumed absence of desire.

M. But with us the desire exists. The socialistic programme can be understood and accepted by all.

G. Talk to the peasant in Orissa about monopoly of trade and socialization of industry and he will not know what you are talking about.

M But the Gujarati or Deccani peasant can understand the rationalization of land.

G. Well, I have known Gujarati peasants defending and approving the institution of the Bania in villages. They say the Bania is their benefactor in distress and so forth. These people have to be awakened. It is no use having an over-ambitious programme. I am a practical man. I would cut down your programme to what I actually do.

M. The present tendency is towards decentralization in agriculture. Intensive agriculture can only be on a small scale But the tendency in industry is towards large-scale production and later large-scale control In such cases there is bound to be a conflict between labour and capital There are some industries which always will tend to be on a large scale

G. Industries like transport, insurance, exchange must be State-owned. But I would not insist that all large industries should be taken over by the State. Suppose there is an intelligent and expert individual who volunteers to run and direct an industry, without much remuneration and only for the good of society, I would keep the system elastic enough to allow such an individual to organize that industry.

M. I too have no objection to such elasticity provided all private profit is eliminated. If any individual promises to work for society, he should be permitted to do so. But I would like to make sure that the industries are run on national lines. I would, therefore, like the industries to be represented on a functional basis in the State, each trade to have its own representation

G. That would be superfluous in a State which was based on adult franchise. India is mostly agricultural and adult franchise would, therefore, give preponderance to agriculture.

M. In Russia they have a slightly different system. The urban worker's vote is weighed—four agriculture votes are equal to one urban vote For the rest the system of election is indirect, like our Congress election.

G. Well, I would not give that preference to the urban vote. In the Round Table Conference I urged the adoption of adult franchise and voting by the village community. The proposal was rejected because the Round Table Conference was not representative.

M. But any conference which has representatives of landlords and capitalists will reject adult franchise. They will say one thing but will do the other.

G. Then they have to be persuaded and converted to your views; I do not believe in the so-called class-conflict.

M. But we can convert individuals, never a system. For instance take the Champaran planters. To the last they were not converted. But for the pressure brought on them by the Governor nothing would have been done.

G. I am not sure. Some planters were converted. What part the Government and planters played in the matter I do not know. But I do know that the Government could have done nothing, if the planters had not stood by them.

M. But if the Governor had been hostile the planters would have resisted to the last.

G. That is shifting the ground. I simply say that some planters were converted. In India Europeans are of four classes—businessmen, soldiers, civilians and ecclesiastics. Surely you do not suggest that individuals from these cannot be converted. You must eliminate violence. And when you do, you will find that there is not much difference between you and me. Both of us desire the welfare of the starving millions.

The Hindustan Times, 4-8-1935

28. SPEECH AT PATPUR

May 25, 1934

Mr. Gandhi reached Patpur this morning at 7. The party halted at Sisua last night.

In a speech at Patpur Mr Gandhi characterized the locality as a khadi-growing place and exhorted his audience to use khadi instead of mill-made cloth. The Charkha Sangh presented him with some khadi A purse of Rs. 101 was presented to him on behalf of the people.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 25-5-1934

29. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

KAKTIA[1],
May 26, 1934

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your letter. I am glad of the Bengal decision. How I should love to pass three months roaming about Bengal after the rains are over. But though I am not coming to Bengal, not even to Calcutta, I would like those who have understood the meaning of this walking pilgrimage to send their subscriptions to me whilst the pilgrimage is going on in Orissa. You should, therefore, get what copper and silver pieces you can and send them to me. Bhagirathji, who was here, agreed with me that even though I may not come to Calcutta, such subscriptions as could be collected should be sent to me. You have got the tour programme. The purses may be sent to me at any stage, but if nowhere else, let them be sent at least at Balasore which I reach on the 12th proximo and which is the last station. You may therefore choose Balasore for sending purses if you can't anticipate it.

Love.

BAPU

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 26-5-1934

[1] A village in Cuttack District

30. *LETTER TO KSHIRODE CHANDRA MAITY*

May 27, [1934][1]

If I feel confident that I could do useful work in the direction indicated by you, I should set aside all other activities and tour in Bengal for several months. But I have no present hope.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI KSHIRODE CHANDRA MAITY
BYBATTARHAT, MIDNAPUR

From a photostat: G.N. 5058

31. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS SHETH*[2]

May 27, 1934

Most probably I will arrive there on the 14th and leave for Poona on the 19th. I will decide finally in a few days. You may arrange whatever is possible within that time. Please do not take me to too many places. We should be content with what is possible in one meeting. Personally I should like to keep at one place and explain my views to workers and listen to what they have to say. Untouchability cannot be eradicated merely with the help of money. It will disappear only if the hearts of large numbers can be melted. I would ask you to think about this problem.

From Gujarati: C.W. 7540. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] As given in the G.N. register; it is obliterated in the source

[2] The message was conveyed in a letter of even date from Chandrashankar Shukla, Gandhiji's secretary, to K. M. Munshi.

32. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

May 27, 1934

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

I have written to Gopalan of Cannanore. Chandrashankar or Valji would not have destroyed the letter. Is it certain that you must go over to Kashi? If you have to go there, let the meeting of the Board be held there. Now we have many places for that purpose. I hope your boils have disappeared now. Things here are well enough, though not as good as one would wish. That tireless worker, Ramabehn, too has fallen ill. Neither Harakhchand[1] nor Ishvarlal[2] is here. The brooms are new.[3] But who can harm him whom Rama guards? I have written to Raja about Hildapud.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1139

33. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

May 27, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I assume that you will be able to manage Dr. Suresh Bannerji.

I have already replied to your letter and your wire. You have my tour programme. I should very much like to break the journey at Wardha, but I don't think I can do so. The whole programme is fixed and it seems desirable to stick to it.

I hope you are keeping well. You must have received my letter[4] regarding Elwin.

Malaviyaji has written to me and suggested a meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Poona. Both places will suit me equally well if the meeting takes place on a date or dates when

[1] Harakchand Motichand, a wealthy philanthropist from Kathiawar

[2] An inmate of the Ashram

[3] Gandhiji has used the Gujarati phrase to mean that he was having new people with him.

[4] *Vide* p. 15.

I shall be there. If the strike is going on in Bombay at the time, I won't like to stay there at all. But that is beside the point. I shall have to be in Bombay from the 14th to 18th.

Om is going on well enough. She learns a great deal from experience, but she is a bit lazy with her studies.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2934

34. *SPEECH AT KENDRAPARA*

[*May 27, 1934*][1]

After the rich experiences I am having in Orissa this programme does not please me at all, but no province save Bengal was willing to forgo my visit altogether. Almost all the provincial workers agreed that the walking tour was better. I urged that a walking tour for three or four days would be a mockery and the spiritual effect would be missed if it was closely intermixed with railway and motor travelling. A compromise was therefore effected and the revised programme was the result. Its peculiarity lies in my being in one and the same place in each province during the whole of my stay there. I see that Thakkar Bapa has made an exception in favour of the United Provinces which is not one but many provinces. This obviates the mad rush.

The revised programme becomes a predominantly collecting tour and not one for the delivery of my message. I would, however, like the workers to meet me at these places and gather the results of the past six months' tour and discuss the future plan of work. If I am to do this solid work I must not be taken from place to place to receive purses or address meetings. During my stay in each province there should be no appointments for me to go anywhere. Beyond one public meeting and one women's meeting where desired there should be no other functions. I should like to come in touch with as many Harijans and sanatanists as possible.

The Hindu, 29-5-1934

[1] From "Weekly Letter" in *Harijan*, 8-6-1934

35. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

May 28, 1934

CHI. VASUMATI,

I hope you are satisfied now with the frequency of my letters. In this tour on foot I could have included all the women workers, but it is extremely doubtful whether any of them would have been able to endure the hardships. Mira will probably arrive there at about the same time that you get this letter. The details of the tour, therefore, will be given by her. If you can stop thinking about your troubles, I shall believe that you have got the reward of pilgrimages to all the shrines.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9387. Also C.W. 632. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

36. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 28, 1934

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have gone through your plan. The donkey is missing on page six. The omission is only through oversight, is it not?

The scheme appears somewhat expensive. But what discourages me is the absence of annual results. Isn't it a feature of the Russian plan that it shows yearwise results and ultimately proves its self-sufficiency at least on paper? I do not notice any such attempt in this scheme.

You must have got my letter about . . .[1]. . . .'s letter received yesterday says that . . . is coming to see me. It will be good indeed if he does come. There is no doubt that . . . is highly perturbed. You are well, I trust.

[1] The names have been omitted.

The touring I like very well. The only regret is that physical exhaustion prevents me from moving around the countryside.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The Calcutta mail-bag should reach me at one of the halts here. On tour, I lose contact with the other provinces.

From Hindi: C.W. 7961 Courtesy: G. D Birla

37. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

May 28, 1934

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

You are right in saying that only the rich and educated people can live with me. I have to turn the rich into poor and place a broom in the hands of the educated. Why should I have you with me? To make you poorer still or to place a broom in your hands? What was there to do in Patna? Did you have to deliver lectures there?[1] If you wish to serve you must calm yourself. I got your telegram. Why was the operation postponed? I shall learn that from your letter. Yes, the best course for you would be to listen to your mother and get married. Where is the single-mindedness in you that is required for remaining a virgin? You are prone to all kinds of thoughts. You cannot concentrate on any one thing. Therefore attain tranquillity if you wish to remain unmarried. When will you learn Hindi? By now you ought to know Gujarati too. Tell me now your plan. I shall arrive in Bombay on the 14th and remain there till the 18th; afterwards, Poona. I shall be in Poona for six days and then on to Ahmedabad. Make yourself well and give up all childishness.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G N. 306

[1] The addressee, wishing to be in Gandhiji's company, had said in her letter that he had no place for an uneducated person like herself

38. OBSERVATIONS ON M. R. MASANI'S SOCIALISTIC PROGRAMME

[*May 29, 1934*][1]

I welcome the rise of the Socialist Party in the Congress. But I can't say that I like the programme as it appears in the printed pamphlet. It seems to me to ignore Indian conditions, and I do not like the assumption underlying many of its propositions which go to show that there is necessarily antagonism between the classes and the masses or between the labourers and the capitalists such that they can never work for mutual good. My own experience covering a fairly long period is to the contrary. What is necessary is that labourers or workers should know their rights and should also know how to assert them.[2]

'Abolition of the rule of Indian princes' is an arrogation of power which does not belong to the party or which belongs as much as the power to abolish Portuguese and French authority in what is called Portuguese and French India would. It may be unfortunate, but the dismemberment of India is a fact which may not be ignored. It is surely enough to concentrate upon what is called British India. It is large enough territory for any party to operate in, and its successful operations in British India cannot but have their effect upon the other parts of India. On principle too I am not for the abolition of the rule of the princes; but I believe in its reformation and modification in consonance with the true spirit of democracy.

'The repudiation of the so-called Public Debt of India incurred by the foreign Government' is too vague and too sweeping a statement in the programme of a progressive and enlightened party. The Congress has suggested the only real and statesmanlike proposition, namely, reference to an impartial tribunal of the whole of the so-called Public Debt before any part can be taken over by the future free Government of India.

'The progressive nationalization of all the instruments of production, distribution and exchange' is too sweeping to be ad-

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] This paragraph was repeated in Gandhiji's letter dated June 14, 1934, to the addressee.

missible. Rabindranath Tagore is an instrument of marvellous production. I do not know that he will submit to be nationalized.

Regarding 'State monopoly of foreign trade', should not the State be satisfied with all the power it will possess? Must it also exercise all the powers in one swoop, whether such an exercise is necessary or not?

'Cancellation of debts owing by peasants and workers' is a proposition which the debtors themselves would never subscribe to, for that will be suicidal. What is necessary is an examination of the debts some of which, I know, will not bear scrutiny.

I should educate the masses to cultivate habits of thrift. I should not be guilty of maiming them by letting them think that they have no obligation in the way of taking preventive measures in the matter of old age, sickness, accident and the like.

I do not understand the meaning of the phrase 'the right to strike'. It belongs to everybody who wants to take the risks attendant upon strikes.

Does 'the right of the child to care and maintenance by the State' absolve the parent from the duty of caring for the maintenance of his children?

'The elimination of landlordism' clearly means usurpation of the Zamindari and Talukdari tracts in clause 13. I am not for elimination but for just regulation of the relation between landlords and tenants.

How do you seek to oppose the 'introduction of religious issues into politics' if you regulate and control all religious endowments? What we really want to do is to observe strictest religious neutrality. But when professors of one of the religions in the State desire some kind of internal reform without which progress will be impossible for them State aid will become inevitable.

These are some of the observations as they occur to me on a cursory glance of your printed programme.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: C.W. 4883. Courtesy: M. R. Masani. Also G.N. 4125

39. LETTER TO M. R. MASANI

(CAMP) KENDRAPARA,
May 29, 1934

MY DEAR MASANI,

Here is my answer[1] to the questions you left with me. You will see my answer covers all the questions. With reference to the resolutions adopted at the First All-India Congress Socialist Conference[2] I should have very little to say against them if your programme was sound which for the reasons I have given does not appear to me to be. The resolution is perhaps bombastic; it is certainly prolix. Do not hesitate to write to me again when necessary.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI M. R. MASANI
C/o "THE SUN"
139 MEDOWS STREET
POST BOX NO. 62, FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: C.W. 4883. Courtesy: M. R. Masani. Also G.N. 4125

40. SPEECH AT KENDRAPARA

May 29, 1934

I am out to demolish all manner of inferiority complex from the mind of my Harijan brothers. It is this which is taken advantage of by the opponents to the Harijan uplift movement and also induces the Harijans themselves to take the humiliating and absolutely irrational status assigned to them in society lying down.

Proceeding, Gandhiji enjoined on his audience the need for conducting themselves in their everyday life in such a manner as to deserve treatment as equals with their so-called high-caste fellows. And for this it was essential, said Gandhiji, that the Harijans should scrupulously avoid carrion-eating, uncleanly habits and drunkenness.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Held at Patna on May 11, under the presidentship of Acharya Narendra Dev

A touching scene was witnessed in Mahatmaji's camp today, when an inmate was found weeping over the news of the death of a near relation of hers. Gandhiji consoled her saying that the best way to conquer death was to take no notice of it In this connection he cited the example of Sjt Satis Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratishthan, Calcutta, who did not give up spinning on his charkha for a moment even when he heard the news of the death of his son That was an example of real heroism which he would like every servant of the nation to emulate.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 29-5-1934

41. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

May 29, 1934

In an exclusive interview with the 'Associated Press', in the course of which he was asked whether he had definitely abandoned the Bengal tour, Mr Gandhi said.

It is not I who have abandoned the Bengal tour. I put myself at the disposal of the Bengal Board, placing before them my difficulties. They first dispensed me from the tour in the districts. I offered to go to Calcutta for a few days if it was thought at all necessary for me to do so, though I had no mind to go to Calcutta only. The Bengal Board also thought likewise and came to the conclusion that if I went to Bengal I should go there for three months. And since that was impossible Calcutta was abandoned. I should certainly love to go to Bengal for three months or more. But I do not know whether this opportunity will come to me during my lifetime.

To another question whether he contemplated any discussion of the Poona Pact with Bengal Hindu leaders and whether the Pact was still open to discussion and, incidentally, to revision, Mr. Gandhi replied.

I have always been ready and willing to discuss the Poona Pact with the Hindu leaders of Bengal. Anything is possible by agreement of all parties. So far as I am concerned nothing is possible that would not be consistent with justice to Harijans.

Asked whether he would support untouchables if they started satyagraha for the vindication of their right of entry into public temples and whether untouchables had an inalienable right to worship in public temples, Mr. Gandhi said.

I do believe that Harijans have as much right of worship in public temples as any other Hindus. But I could never be a party to the use of force in order to vindicate that right. Satyagraha has come to signify many things. I should therefore want

to know the nature of the satyagraha to be offered. And in any case satyagraha by Harijans would not be advisable while reformers were trying their utmost to persuade the orthodox to waive their objections.

Asked whether he would give any lead regarding the entry of untouchables into the Puri Jagannath Temple, Mr. Gandhi replied:

I have known of the importance of the temple at Puri being open to Harijans as it certainly was years ago and, as I know from first-hand evidence, always has been so long as Harijans have gone without asserting their rights. But I have no lead to give about opening the temple beyond this —that public opinion should be cultivated in that behalf.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30-5-1934

42. LETTER TO CHARU PROBHA SEN GUPTA

May 30, 1934

MY DEAR CHARU PROBHA,

I have your letter. Do by all means join me at any stage you like. You know my programme, don't you? On 6th I reach Bhadrak.

Love.

BAPU

[PROGRAMME][1]

		Morning	Evening
4th	June	8 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. Baradeshwar	5.30 p.m. to 5.30 a.m. Baradeshwar
5	,,	Baradeshwar	Nalang
6	,,	Gavadpur	Bhadrak
7	,,	Asura	Simulia
8	,,	Jamjhari	Sirapur
9	,,	Soro	Barikpurhat
10	,,	Khantapara	
11	,,	,,	Khannagar
12	,,	Balasore	
12	,,	Leave Balasore at 11.0 a.m.	

SHRI CHARU PROBHA SEN
RAJBARI (BENGAL)

From a photostat: G.W. 1492 Courtesy: A. K. Sen. Also G.N. 8706

[1] Written in a handwriting other than Gandhiji's, this is found on the reverse of the postcard containing the letter.

13. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

BERIMUL (UTKAL),
May 30, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

It is already Wednesday but there is no letter from you yet.

The newly built ship has already sprung a leak. It may keep afloat, but one can't say whether it will reach the port. The Four[1] will meet again in Bombay on the 15th.

Mahendrababu, Rajendrababu's elder brother, is seriously ill. It is doubtful if he will survive. If he passes away, Rajendrababu will suddenly find himself burdened with a heavy responsibility. Write to him.

Ceresole, Agatha and Muriel are leaving on the 15th. All three had sufficient experience. Ceresole will come back in October. He will bring with him some other friends too. The Bihar work is progressing quite well, thanks to Jamnalalji's strict supervision. He has taken Muriel to see . . . [2]. They will go to Wardha *via* Anantpur.

Bapa's place is taken at present by Malkani. Devdas had come to Patna. He has put on some flesh now. Marriage and Delhi have done him good. Ramdas is the same that he was, though he seems to have improved a little now.

It seems Mani is being tested fairly severely (in jail). Kaka also is being tested. He was ill. There has been a wire from him saying that he is a little better now.

Since Sushila, Prabhavati and Om write to you, you must be getting plenty of tit-bits from them. It can be said that the heat here is worse than what it is even in Ahmedabad.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 104

[1] Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Dr. B. C. Roy and Bhulabhai Desai of the Congress Parliamentary Board

[2] The name is omitted in the source.

44. INTERVIEW TO UTKAL WORKERS

May 30, 1934

Asked if he was satisfied with the formation of the Swaraj Parliamentary Board in which Utkal was not represented, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I am not particular about it, nor am I at all concerned with the selection of the personnel of the Board. I am mis-represented by the Press as such. Only Malaviyaji and Dr. Ansari have taken all responsibility for it.

As regards the discontent of the Utkal people for being neglected in the matter of representation on the Board, he said:

I am of opinion that those who can do constructive work should not worry about representation on the Board. But if you feel keenly on the matter, you should write asserting your right of representation of at least one seat.

He further advised the Utkal workers that instead of utilizing his services in such matters, they should take his more useful services in solving the flood problem which he was thinking about day and night. Repair of the embankments, which was prohibited by the Government, was the greatest problem which every representative of the people of Utkal must think about. To solve this he was writing to an expert engineer for making a survey. He was confident that if a solution was suggested, the Government would not ignore it.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 1-6-1934

45. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

May 31, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

The burden on Dwarkanath has increased. Please know everything from him and lighten it. Listen to what he may have to say regarding Manohar and Keshu and look into the matter carefully, and do what is necessary. Why did Manohar go away suddenly to live in the orchard? Also inquire and see if Sharma

takes too much work on himself. We must find time in Bombay to discuss all this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N 2935

46. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

May 31, 1934

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I came to know only just now about your son's death. All of us will have to go that royal road sooner or later. If, however, you two do wish to observe mourning for him, do so by observing complete self-control. Please remember that now we have to observe with all the greater vigilance the strict rules for civil disobedience volunteers.

I had received your letter. What you mean is this that I also should demonstrate my love by giving up civil disobedience. If I think that necessary, I would certainly take that step. But I see no such necessity. What displeased the Government was not civil disobedience itself, but the incivility which was displayed in its name. The party of violence were not, and are not, concerned with demonstration of love. They didn't see our non-violence, but saw the subtle violence behind it and concluded that it was the result of cowardice and that their violence of the brave was far better. Thus, because our disobedience was uncivil, neither of the two parties could understand it. Is this clear?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 6079. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

47. *LETTER TO HIRALAL SHARMA*

May 31, 1934

BHAI SHARMA,

Go slow. Dwarkanathji tells me that you have taken up too many burdens. I think the letter from Surendra too contained a similar complaint. To perform service to our utmost and to take it as well is beneficial to all in every way. Keep writing to me. You must regard it as your dharma to take the requisite amount of milk and other articles of food.

Draupadi Devi has not so far replied to my letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamein Mere Jeevanke Solah Varsha*, 1932-48, between pp. 68 and 69

48. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

May 31, 1934

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

Your letter. How is it that you reached the hospital and yet the operation was not performed? I reach Bombay on June 14. How nice it would be if the operation is performed! As to your accompanying me, I have already written to you. Why are you scared of the operation? Don't you have enough faith in God?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 307

49. 'THE COOLIE PROBLEM OF ASSAM'

Whilst I was touring in Assam, a correspondent sent me his outpourings under the above heading. From his letter I take the following:[1]

I can agree from personal experience with much of what the writer has to say. The very word 'coolie' is a misnomer and reminds one of what happens in South Africa. Instead of meaning a labourer or a porter, the word came to be applied in South Africa to designate the bearer's nationality, and became a word of reproach. An Indian merchant, barrister or doctor was known as a coolie merchant, etc. So, in Assam, the Indian who went from another province to work on the tea estates remained a coolie even after the termination of his contract as a labourer and even though he ceased to be a labourer and became a landowner. But being industrious, he has multiplied in Assam and yet remains in perfect isolation and ostracism. It is a suicidal policy that keeps him so. He cannot be driven out of Assam. Being grossly neglected, he has become an economic waste. If these men were properly taken care of, they would become an asset of first class importance. It is up to the educated people of Assam to study this problem and solve it to the benefit of all concerned. It does not require an outlay of money so much as it requires an outlay of intelligence and industry.

Harijan, 1-6-1934

[1] The extract is not reproduced here. The correspondent had pointed out the need to remove the indignities suffered by the so-called 'coolies' and those belonging to other Depressed Classes. He had requested Gandhiji to "evolve a scheme of work" to raise their standard of life and to earn them recognition in society.

50. *UNTOUCHABILITY AS IT EXISTS TODAY*

The Editor sends me the following from his box. A correspondent who gives his name and address but prefers to remain unknown to the readers of *Harijan* says:

> In the *Harijan* of the 9th March, Gandhiji is reported to have said that 'there was no warrant in the Shastras for untouchability'. One of the most prominent pundits who support Mahatmaji's movement is Mahamahopadhyaya Pramatha Nath Tarkabhushan of Benares Hindu University. He has published the letter which he wrote to Gandhiji last year quoting scriptures in support of Gandhiji. The pundit wrote that, although there are texts in support of untouchability, there are other texts which stated that untouchables could be made pure by *diksha* (initiation) and devotion to God. Thus, according to the pundit, those *Chandalas* who were not initiated nor devoted to God were untouchables according to the Shastras. Gandhiji's opinion that there is no sanction for untouchability is, therefore, not supported by this pundit.
>
> Will you kindly state which pundits have told Gandhiji that there is no sanction for untouchability in the Shastras?
>
> Gandhiji himself wrote before that sanatanists had supplied him with many texts from the Shastras in support of untouchability, but that he did not accept the authority of such passages as they were against the fundamental principles of morality.
>
> Gandhiji's present statement that there is no sanction for untouchability in the Shastras does not seem to accord with his previous statement which was that there is such sanction but he did not accept the authority of such passages because they were immoral.
>
> Will you kindly explain the apparent inconsistency through the columns of the *Harijan*?

I have not verified the quotation from the *Harijan* of 9th March. But everybody knows by this time that, whenever I speak on untouchability, it has reference to untouchability as it is practised today or known to us today. And I do repeat here, as I have said on a thousand platforms, that there is no warrant in the Shastras for untouchability as we practise it today. I well remember Mahamahopadhyaya Pramatha Nath Tarkabhushan's letter to me. His argument is an enforcing argument combating the doctrine of ineradicable untouchability. That

letter not only does not controvert[1] my proposition but supports it in the sense that no single untouchable need always remain untouchable. When once it is admitted that an untouchable can become touchable by simply reciting the *Bhagavata's* twelve-lettered *mantra*, the citadel of untouchability is destroyed. For the support of my position, I cite even the sanatanists themselves, for, they have not as yet produced a single verse in support of untouchability as it is practised today. Innumerable castes are at one time enumerated as untouchables in the census report and at another removed from that list and some new ones are enumerated. Surely, there is no warrant in the Shastras for accepting census figures for branding persons as untouchables, and untouchability as we practise it today has reference only to these several crores of men and women who are classified as untouchables in census reports. Nor is there any warrant in the Shastras for the treatment that is meted out to these people in their respective provinces or districts. I have, indeed, said that the verses produced by sanatanists in support of untouchability as they describe it are wholly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of Hinduism. Therefore, under the canons of interpretation laid down in the Shastras themselves, such verses must be repudiated as devoid of authority. There is, therefore, no inconsistency in my writings or sayings, when I say that there is no warrant for untouchability as it is practised today. Of course, there is ample authority in the Shastras for temporary untouchability on sanitary grounds. That is not an untouchability that is contrary to reason or to ethics. The untouchability against which I am carrying on war is an internal taint which is supposed to apply to a man by birth and of which no amount of expiation can purge a man.

Harijan, 1-6-1934

[1] The source has "contraverse".

51. LETTER TO TARA JASHWANI

June 1, 1934

CHI. TARA,

May I compliment you for writing to me after three years? Though you wrote to me after such a long time, you have not given me an account of the work you did during this period. Have you collected any money for Harijan work, for which I have undertaken this tour? If you have not, please do so now. Add your own contribution to it before sending over the amount. My not going to Calcutta shouldn't be an excuse for forgetting either of these things.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8780

52. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER[1]

[Before *June 2, 1934*]

Why should you feel broken-hearted? Why can't you follow the example of Janakraja? He was indifferent when his capital city was being reduced to ashes, because he had done all he could to save it. Have you yourself failed anywhere? If not, why worry? Give some chance to God who has His finger in every pie. And even if you have failed anywhere, why worry? Like Lacy [*sic*] of old "Try again".

From Gujarati: C.W. 7541. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] This message was conveyed in a letter dated June 2, 1934 from Chandrashankar Shukla to K. M. Munshi. The addressee's name, however, is not known.

53. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, JAJPUR

June 2, 1934

In the address presented to me you have reminded me that this is a place of pilgrimage. How nice it would have been if you had also added that in this place of pilgrimage all the temples have been thrown open to Harijans. I have repeated several times that in the temples where Harijans have no right of entry, there are idols no doubt, but they have not been consecrated.

We call God the saviour of the fallen; we call him *Daridranarayana*; we call him the Merciful and the Benign. God has thousands of such epithets that go to prove that He does not belong to any particular caste. God belongs neither to the Brahmins nor the Kshatriyas but He belongs to all. But steeped in pride we say, 'God is for us only and not for others.' To those who think so I have been crying myself hoarse that if there is any truth in the Shastras, if there is any truth in the tenets of the Shastras, a temple where Harijans are barred entry, has no God but only a stone.

If we fail to see what is obvious and if with the idea of high and low in our hearts, we segregate the Harijans, the Hindu dharma and Hindu society are doomed to perish.

From your address, it would appear that a tremendous propaganda is going on for the removal of untouchability and yet it cannot be uprooted in our time. With my naked eyes I can see clearly that, whether we like it or not, untouchability is destined to disappear. No man, up till now, has succeeded in stopping the wheels of time. If we willingly own our Harijan brothers and give them all the rights we enjoy, this shall be deemed as a blessed act in the kingdom of God and in the Book of God. I shall explain to you what will be the result if untouchability is abolished against our wishes and also the result if it is removed with our consent. If untouchability is removed against our wishes, it means the destruction of the Hindu dharma. If Hinduism perishes there will certainly be no untouchable left. But that will not be for the good of humanity. If however untouchability is removed with the willing co-operation of the Hindus, with the purification of and atonement by

caste Hindus, it will be something to be proud of and will be a blessed act. And the Hindu dharma which is on the decline today will have a renaissance, and it will progress. With the rise of the Hindu community the concept of brotherhood and fraternity will prevail not only in India but in the whole world. I have shown you two ways—one of progress and the other of decline. Now, it is for you to decide which path you should choose.

A Muslim brother has sent me a letter. He wishes me to give a reply here itself. The purport of his letter is that, in all that I have attempted so far, I have only met with failure. He writes, "Then why have you unnecessarily taken another task on your hands?" He cites this example: "You took immense trouble to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. But it was no use; only there is a little more tension now." In answer to this I wish to say only this: I do not accept that I have failed in my attempts especially for Hindu-Muslim unity. It is my strong belief that as a result of the efforts that have been made, though tension appears to have increased due to the prevailing political conditions unity has on the whole been strengthened. It is also my unshaken faith that the endeavour to unite the Hindus and the Muslims will go down in history as a great and worthy cause. But, even if I concede that all my attempts have failed, still I have no regrets, because I have conducted these experiments all my life as a worshipper of truth. Therefore I have no regrets whatever for what I have done.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 15-6-1934

54. A LETTER[1]

[Before *June 3, 1934*]

If you will regard my walking tour in villages from day to day as walking to all villages of India, then there should be visible participation by all the provinces. There may be walking parties to villages delivering the message of equality and brotherhood, for abolition of untouchability means nothing less. These parties can do the double work, that of speaking in the friendliest manner to the caste Hindus on the evil of untouchability and distinction of high and low, collecting from them *repentance* money and sending this to me in the form of purses even as they would have done if I had travelled to them, and the work of delivering the message of peace and deliverance to the untouchables. What a glorious awakening it would be if a simultaneous response such as I have adumbrated here is made!

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 3-6-1934

55. A LETTER

[Before *June 3, 1934*]

I am glad that you are taking up the walking tour in Bengal, if only for five days. It would be successful if there is a good response. Of course you will explain to the people the cause of the collection of the tour. Let them understand that Orissa was in greater need, and that my tour in Orissa should be taken for touring all over India. At the same time if I had the opportunity I would certainly tour in Bengal for three months or more.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 3-6-1934

[1] This and the following item appeared in the source as quoted in a statement by Dr. B. C. Roy and Satis Chandra Das Gupta.

56. LETTER TO KOTWAL

June 3, 1934

BHAI KOTWAL,

I got your letter.

I understand [what you say] about your food. I see no harm in your asking for fruit when you are in jail. But I think you cannot go on a fast to press your demand. You have not taken a vow, and cannot take it now. We should accept and be content with any food that is given to us in a manner that does not hurt our self-respect, provided it is such as we can eat. When we go to jail, we entrust our body to the jailor.

About the extracts which you made while in jail, you can go right up to the India Office, and, if you wish, take even legal steps.

It might be wise not to get an operation performed on the nose, unless it seems absolutely necessary, for improvement in eyesight.

The resolution which you intend to move concerning the Indian States seems altogether bad to me. I see nothing but attachment or complete lack of thought behind it. Personally, I wouldn't advise you to move it.

The second resolution is not as bad as the first, but it is bad enough. You do not know the history of how that province was formed. The population also cannot be put as high as you do. The number of delegates which you have assigned to Ajmer-Merwara also seems excessive to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3611

57. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

June 4, 1934

CHI. AMALA,

You did well in writing the letters. I want to know you as you are and not as you would be. I shall love you in spite of your faults. You have no cause to fear me. You must dismiss from your mind the thought that I hate you. I hate nobody in the world. You never gave me any cause for hating you. On the contrary you have given me many reasons for loving you. You must not therefore let your imagination run away with you.

I have read your letter to Mira. I think you should go to a cool place. I could easily send you somewhere. Why should you swear by German medicine? There are competent doctors enough in Ahmedabad. Tell Parikshitlal and he will take you to one. You should be sane in these matters. You will be a cause of great anxiety to me, if you become ill and your body is undermined.

Why do you want to be like Mira? She is not perfect. No one is perfect. You should strive to be good according to the gifts God has given you. No two persons are alike in the world. But all can be good if they choose to.

We shall soon meet. I would like you to be fit when we meet. And this you will be, if you won't brood over your illness and take the necessary measures for getting well.

I enclose herewith some letters to be handed to those concerned.

Love.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

58. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

June 4, 1934

'Civil resistance' is a wider term, and also indicative of respect. Civil disobedience is not necessarily an accurate expression of the attitude indicated in 'civil resistance'. 'Civil disobedience' may also indicate an attitude of the mind. The term 'civil disobedience' was first used by Thoreau. I didn't like it because it didn't suggest all that I had in mind. Looking for a new phrase, I fixed upon 'civil resistance'. The current phrase was 'passive resistance'. But my way of resistance or the force which I had in mind was not passive. It was active, but 'active' might also mean violent. The word 'civil' suggests nothing but non-violence. I, therefore, joined it with 'resistance'.

The pledge taken at the start of the Dandi March certainly did not mean that I would remain in jail till swaraj was won. Nor is it always in our hands to be in jail.

If the Yeravda Pact required a change in the Award[1] by the Government, it also required the people to discharge their debt to Harijans. Because the Government was aware of this condition, it was by implication bound to give me facilities for fulfilling it. The Government had accepted a similar argument during my first term of imprisonment and given me the necessary concession. This correspondence has been published. How can they go back on it now?

I have had no hand in Jamnalalji's appointment. But I approve of it. The post of secretary was not filled because one secretary is out. If nobody was available, even that post would have had to be filled. There is no principle involved in such matters, the only criterion being propriety. What is wrong in the same person being President and Treasurer?

What you say concerning the Parliamentary Board is correct. The priest ministers at the wedding, but cannot help the partners to run their home. If we let ourselves be seen as we are some day we shall become what we ought to be.

[1] Communal Award

Now nothing till the 14th[1]. However, if there is anything special I will write or ask somebody to write.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 146-7

59. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

June 4, 1934

Though the limited freedom[2] granted to me was conveyed to me orally by the Superintendent, it was actually a telephone message that he read out. At that time I accepted it, but within half an hour after he had left I wrote out and dispatched a letter[3] to the Government.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 132

60. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER[4]

[Before *June 5, 1934*]

I should love to give Bengal three months. That can only be in my next incarnation.

From Gujarati: C.W. 7542. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] When Gandhiji was to reach Bombay

[2] For doing Harijan work

[3] *Vide* Vol. LV, pp 356-7.

[4] The message was conveyed in a letter dated June 5, 1934 from Chandrashankar Shukla to K. M. Munshi. The addressee's name, however, is not known.

61. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

June 4, 1934

BHAI BALVANTSINHA,

I do not see any difference between 'Bhai' or 'Chi.' or any other appellation as long as the sentiment is the same. When I do not know a person well and do not know his age and other particulars I usually address him as 'Bhai'. I would like it if Surendra keeps you with him. Narandas is at Rajkot, you should act as he advises.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1871

62. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

June 4, 1934

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. I feel that you should join the family business. You should earn what you can and enter the field of service only when you are free from attachment to the family and when the desire for money ceases and effortless *brahmacharya* is attained. It is useless to make any sacrifice because I or someone else so advises. Only you can have a measure of your own strength, only you can judge the degree of your attachment. Until you have measured yourself truly it is your dharma to keep up the domestic links and retain the family profession. There is no sin in maintaining family relationship or even in making money. One can also after all render service by keeping the domestic ties within limits. He also serves who observes truth, etc., while remaining in his own sphere of work. One who enters the field of service yet indulges in subtle pleasures, selfishness and the like renders no service, but only harms the cause and turns a hypocrite. It is a grave delusion to say that one cannot preserve truth while earning wealth. There are quite a few people today who adhere to truth while making money. I think your duty lies in this for the present, but the

first thing you should do is to make yourself absolutely healthy.

Nothing will be gained by coming to me in my travels. But if you wish you may join me on my reaching Poona or Ahmedabad. My advice would be against it. It would be better to busy yourself in work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2412

63. *LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR*

June 4, 1934

CHI. RAMESHWARDAS,

You are in Jamnalalji's custody and should remain so and do as he bids. The *kandora*[1] can be sent by post or with someone who happens to go there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 168

64. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

June 4, 1934

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

Your letter and the doctor's telegram arrived together. It is excellent that the operation was performed. I think you will have been discharged by the time I reach Bombay. Have no worry about anything. I am writing to Chandrakanta[2] and Raje[3]. It is good that both of them are there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 308

[1] A chain for the waist

[2] & [3] Daughter and son of Dr. Jawaharlal Rohatagi, a leading Congressman of Kanpur, who were both working as house-surgeons in the King Edward Memorial Hospital where the addressee was operated upon

65. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD[1]

[On or before *June 5, 1934*][2]

WIRE JUST RECEIVED. TELL HIS WIDOW AND BHAGABATI[3] NOT TO WEEP OVER THE INEVITABLE. YOU HAVE LOST THE MAINSTAY OF THE FAMILY YET YOU HAVE LOST NOTHING. GOD WAS AND IS YOUR INFALLIBLE HELP. MAHENDRABABU WAS HIS INSTRUMENT. GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA AND MISS HARRISON ARE HERE. THEY AND OTHERS JOIN ME IN SENDING CONDOLENCES.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 5-6-1934

66. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

June 5, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

It was a good idea of yours to pay all those visits. I understand what you say regarding Rukhi. City life cannot have any other result than this. Rukhi could have made her way easier, but she did not have enough courage. But that was not her fault. Everybody obeys his or her own nature. One may make whatever changes are possible within its limits. Anybody who attempts more is bound to fall lower than he or she was before.

Prabhudas has got what he wanted. He will make his way in life if his health remains good.

Let Velanbehn follow her own inclination and rise or fall in consequence. She will come to no harm whatever. If Prema is released after I have left, I hope she will follow me. When is Lilavati expected to be released? I feel sometimes that we should now relieve Anasuyabehn of the burden of Anandi and others.[4]

[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram informing Gandhiji of the death of Mahendra Prasad, addressee's elder brother

[2] The telegram was published under the date-line, "Bhadrak, June 5, 1934".

[3] Addressee's sister

[4] When the Ashram was closed, the younger girls were left in the care of Anasuyabehn Sarabhai.

Kanu has proved his mettle well indeed. I have written to Amala. You do not seem to have met Amina. Amtussalaam has been operated upon for piles in Bombay. She is in the King Edward [Memorial] Hospital. Write to her. It is a painful state of affairs that weavers do not get yarn.

Think over the problem of the dairy. The work ought not to be neglected. Write to Titus and tell him that he should attend things in right time. He should not spend his time away from the dairy as he likes. A letter for Chhaganlal is enclosed.

Where is Chimanlal at present? I hope you will be in Ahmedabad when I go there. If Jamnadas's health still does not improve I will not mind his resigning. But who will run the school afterwards? Jamnadas rarely writes to me. See that he does not decide anything in haste.

I like Purushottam's idea of going to Wardha. The rains have started here and it is not possible now to continue the tour on foot. I am, therefore, thinking what to do on the remaining days.

It has been decided just now that we should walk more today and reach Bhadrak, and leave it for Wardha on Friday, and proceed from there to Bombay on Wednesday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8401. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

67. LETTER TO DWARKANATH

[June][1] *5, 1934*

CHI. DWARKANATH,

The rains have set in here making it impossible to continue the tour on foot. It has therefore been decided to spend three days in Bhadrak before going over to your place. We hope to leave Bhadrak on Friday and reach there on Saturday. We shall leave from there on Wednesday. The party would comprise about ten people. I am not writing separately to Jamnalalji and Ramdas. Please tell Vidya I have her letter; it is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3087

[1] Not decipherable in the source. However, from the context it is clear that the letter was written in June. *Vide* also the preceding item.

68. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

June 5, 1934

CHI. KANTI,

Is it proper that you should never write to me? How are you? What do you read? How do you live? Will you not write to me and tell me all these things? From there you must write to me a beautiful letter every week.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7285. Courtesy: Kanti Gandhi

69. LETTER TO KESHAVJI RAOCHAND AND KANJI MULJI SIKKA

June 5, 1934

BHAI KESHAVJI RAOCHAND AND BHAI KANJI MULJI SIKKA,

My visit to Calcutta has been put off. But I certainly expect a purse from the Gujaratis in Calcutta. A contribution of at least Rs. 20,000 is certain from the Marwaris, it may even go up to Rs. 25,000. I am sending Valjibhai Desai to receive the contribution from the Gujaratis. I have to leave for Wardha by the Friday train. Please, therefore, collect what you can and send the amount with Valjibhai.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7466. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

70. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

GARADPUR (UTKAL),
June 7, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have received no letter from you this time as yet. I myself have written to you regularly, however. The rains have started here, and so all touring has stopped. It will soon be time for the morning prayer. As I am writing this, Satisbabu has arrived with his band of ten, carrying their luggage and walking a distance of two miles from Bhadrak Station to this place. They took an hour and three quarters to walk that distance through the mud.

I am now taking up the letter again after the prayer.

Satisbabu has been touring Bengal on foot. It is too early yet to assess the results of the walking tour. Personally I am fully satisfied. All other things seem pale beside this.

Miss Harrison has gone to Bombay. I shall meet her again there. She is a very good woman indeed. She thinks about nothing else but this problem. Muriel has toured fairly widely in company with Jamnalalji. She also will meet me in Bombay.

I have already sent the tour programme to you. Have faith that what is happening is perfectly all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 105

71. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

June 7, 1934

The rains have started here, making touring on foot impossible. I am, therefore, spending three days in Bhadrak. I will leave tomorrow (Friday) for Wardha. I will stay there for four days and arrive in Bombay on the date fixed.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 146

72. SPEECH AT GARADPUR ASHRAM, BHADRAK

[*June 7, 1934*][1]

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

It was arranged that there would be a meeting on the public road today at 9 a.m. But I was informed that no meeting could be held on the public road without a license issued from the Superintendent of Police. It was our mistake that we did not obtain a license for the meeting. The S. P. is not here now. He stays at Balasore. His subordinates here are not empowered to issue a license. So I could not go to the place of the meeting. Therefore I called you all to this place. I know law cannot be broken here; because I do not want to break the law and convene a meeting on the public road. I say all of you should give up untouchability. We are all sons of one God, then why should we live aloof from Harijans? We should give all facilities to them which the caste Hindus enjoy. We should not hold out any distinction between high and low. The next thing that I have to say is that we have become idle and idleness should be given up. If we do not give up idleness we will starve. It is for this reason that some sort of work must be done. If no other work is available then charkhas should be plied so that something may be earned. If anyone gets more money by doing any other work, he should engage himself in such work. Thirdly, intoxicants should be given up because intoxicants do harm to us. If you have followed me, then give whatever you can for the service of Harijans.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7-6-1934

[1] From *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 8-6-1934

73. *SPEECH TO HARIJAN WORKERS, BHADRAK*[1]

June 7, 1934

Those who took a direct part in the pilgrimage cannot but have been struck by the fact that real work lies in the villages. The vast mass of Harijans live there. Untouchability has its strongest roots there. Poverty, too, is most rampant in the villages. Therefore the Sangh, while not neglecting the cities, should send its best workers to the villages and there do two-fold work—serve the Harijans and the *savarnas*—the former, by procuring for the young and the old educational facilities, clean water-supply, admission to temples, betterment of economic condition, removal of bad habits, e.g., carrion-eating, eating and drinking intoxicating drugs and drinks, and inducing hygienic habits; and the latter, by establishing friendly contact with them and securing their co-operation to the extent they would be prepared to give it. In all things there should be no compulsion or the show of it. Above all, remember that personal purity of the worker is to count in the end. Those, therefore, whose character is not above suspicion and weather-proof should not touch Harijan service, particularly in the villages. The Sangh will have to be most careful in the selection of workers.[2]

Gandhiji expressed his satisfaction at the enthusiasm displayed by all sections of people throughout Utkal including the womenfolk in furtherance of Harijan uplift movement. Mahatmaji said:

I am returning more convinced than ever before that Harijan work is far better done by *padayatra* (tour on foot).

Referring to a query by one among the audience as to whether suspension of civil disobedience should be interpreted as a verdict of its failure, Gandhiji said:

There is no such word as 'failure' in the dictionary of a satyagrahi. He simply prepares himself according to experience gained at every step. The progress of a satyagrahi is similar to

[1] Extracted from "Weekly Letter"
[2] What follows is reproduced from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

that of a mountaineer who has in the course of his march got to retrace his steps several times before he ascends a few steps.

Replying to another question as to how he expected to get swaraj by restricting the practice of civil disobedience only to himself, Gandhiji said:

Wait and you will see.

Harijan, 15-6-1934; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 7-6-1934

74. *NOTE*

Limitations of Penitential Fasts

It will be remembered that Shri Sitaram Sastri sometime ago underwent an unconditional fast by way of penance for the weakness of a friend who, having promised to open a temple under his charge, had, under pressure of his friends, gone back upon his promise. Shri Sastri discussed the fast with me. I promised to set forth the argument briefly in these columns.

Fasting with a spiritual purpose behind it is praiseworthy only under well-defined conditions. It must not be for a selfish end. It must not be in the nature of violence, as, for instance, it would be, if one fasted against a sanatanist for not opening a temple when it was well known that it was against his religious conviction to do so. The question that Sitaram Sastri had to deal with was of a different nature. He had to deal with a broken promise of an intimate friend. Ordinarily such a breach or its imminence is cured by a fast, and the fast would be advisable, if not obligatory, for those who believe in fasts as a lawful institution in a non-violent crusade against social or religious abuse or evil, both of which untouchability is. But in dealing with the timid, almost emasculated, society such as we have to deal with, even breaches of promise have to be gently dealt with, especially when they are made in connection with social matters as distinguished from individual affairs. Superstition is ingrained in us. Untouchability itself a poisonous boycott of the extreme type -has filled us with imaginary horrors of an imaginary boycott. Living in such fears, mere threat of a social boycott to one for whom life outside his particular caste is inconceivable is enough to make him withdraw or break a solemn promise. In such cases, a fast is too drastic a remedy. Prudence demands abstention from taking promises from such men and treating lightly promises already made. Such persons require most sympathetic treatment and gentle handling. A

drastic treatment like that of fasting may, instead of strengthening, actually weaken a person and, therefore, endanger or injure the very reform for which a fast is undertaken.

Harijan, 8-6-1934

75. A CAREFUL SPINNER

A Harijan sevak, who is working in a Harijan school and trying to introduce hand-spinning amongst his pupils and their parents, in addition to many other things writes:

> 'During the national week I spun more industriously than hitherto and much more carefully My speed was 300 yards per hour on an average. Out of 40 *tolas* of cotton I obtained 37 *tolas* of yarn of 16 counts. The output was 9,700 rounds—a round is equal to four feet. In cleaning cotton and carding it, I lost two and a half *tolas*, and another half *tola* was lost in spinning. I have preserved all the waste This I propose to utilize for filling pillows and the like. I have seen many spinners whose waste sometimes amounts to as much as the wages obtained from spinning for the amount of cotton on which the waste has been made. You would remember that I spin only during leisure hours. I shall have spun for myself much more khadi than I need for personal use. I propose to sell the surplus and apply the proceeds towards the expenses of conducting the Harijan school under my charge. My yarn is considered to be so strong and good that the weavers prefer my yarn to any other.

I know this spinner. He has become what he is by his sincerity and application. He was no better than the average spinner. But, today, very few volunteer-spinners would be able to show the record that this Harijan sevak has been able to show. Wandering through the villages of Utkal, speaking to the people and coming in closest touch with them I have a daily demonstration of enormous possibilities of hand-spinning. The idleness that has crept over the poor villagers is a first-class tragedy. I see hundreds, and often thousands, hovering round me all day long doing absolutely nothing. Those who hover round me are not in any shape or form well-to-do. Their food is of the most meagre kind. They hardly get milk or ghee. The food consists chiefly of boiled rice, dhal and oil. The people appear to me to be without ambition and without hope, and yet they show in their own lives a remarkable culture which you cannot help noticing. But all that culture will presently be of no avail

to them, if they cannot be induced to learn the art of profitably utilizing every idle hour. And I come irresistibly to the conclusion that there is nothing but the spinning-wheel to present to the millions for their acceptance and use during idle hours. Surely, any industry is remunerative which is designed to give occupation to millions of people.

Harijan, 8-6-1934

76. *TELEGRAM TO ANAND T. HINGORANI*

BHADRAK,
June 8, 1934

ANAND
CARE KEWALRAMANI
IRRIGATION
JAHANIA

YOU MAY JOIN WARDHA OR BOMBAY. USELESS VIDYA[1] COMING WARDHA TWO WEEKS.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives and Anand T. Hingorani

77. *LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA*[2]

June 8, 1934

I have your note of the 4th instant.

You enquire about things here. I shall content myself with giving you just a subjective report of the policy of the management as I expect detailed report of work done to reach you through Pyarelal and others from time to time.

My asking you for the expenses of your party has had a salutary effect and people are more careful in debiting items against the Bihar Central Relief Committee. But still there is a tendency to mix up reconstruction work with relief work. They want bridges built—even pucca ones—out of our funds without first tapping District Boards, the Government and other sources. Even the wells sunk seem excessive and they have not

[1] Addressee's wife

[2] Addressee's name as given in the G.N register

yet got over the idea of free doles. It appears to me, a great deal of the relief work is undertaken with political motives especially after the A.I.C.C. decisions. The Bihar Central Relief Committee does not get the impartial and unadulterated attention of those in charge and the work is not what it should be because of mixed motives. Middle class relief is an answer to pressure.

As an organization our weak point lies in the absolute control and discretion vested in the officers in charge at the districts. True, the Managing Committee sits down in all seriousness to budget. But when the President, out of the goodness of his heart, is persuaded to give blank cheques to officers in charge without consulting the Managing Committee such budgeting becomes a farce and is to no effect. The work merely reflects the imagination or the lack of imagination of one man in each district. Dictatorial powers are good in an emergency but it seems to me in constructive work some control of the executive is important to co-ordinate effort. The Audit Department, in the nature of things, is a day after the fair and is subject to executive discretion generally; while the inspection department becomes an organization for recording pious opinions.

From a photostat: G.N. 10105

78. *INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA*

BALASORE,
June 8, 1934

In the course of an exclusive interview with the Associated Press Mr. Gandhi said that if he had it in his power he would undoubtedly use it in order to bring about a settlement of the labour strike during his visit to Bombay, but he knew that he had none. As regards his impressions on the conclusion of his walking tour in Orissa, he said:

I have always considered Orissa to be the poorest of our provinces. That impression was strengthened by intimate contact with the villages visited during the tour. The enforced idleness among people is appalling. The Harijans in the villages I found to be exceptionally clean in their habits. Indeed, in some of the villages their homes appeared to be cleaner than the homes of their fellow-villagers. Intellectually, too, they appeared to me to be in no way inferior to others in spite of the social handicaps they are living under.

I have nothing but happy memories of the pilgrimage and, due opportunity coming to me, I should repeat it on a much

larger scale. Utkal co-workers showed great powers of endurance. Their organizing ability was of no mean order. Twice during nights storms swept over us. Volunteers proved equal to the emergency and we were able to pass the nights in more or less comfort.

Our party included girls from Rama Devi's[1] Ashram. I marvelled at their capacity for walking bare-footed. Every morning, as soon as we reached our destination, these girls went out to Harijan quarters and brought me reports of what they had seen or done. They never knew what fatigue was. And though many of them had been brought up in the lap of luxury they put up with all the trials of a march which was by no means a soft job. If the work is continued with the same enthusiasm and earnestness that were exhibited during the march and the workers concentrate upon Harijan service in the villages more than the cities, the result will be startling. I have no doubt that *savarna* Hindus' minds are ready. But, in order to induce action they require the living touch which could only be supplied by pure-minded workers working in the villages, not by fits and starts, but regularly.

In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi said that these walking tours had not yet taken place in any other province except Bengal. In his opinion such tours would become more and more popular as experience grew.[2]

On Government *communique* lifting the ban on Congress organizations, Gandhiji declined to make any comment at present.

On being told that the whole country was waiting for his lead in this matter, he smilingly replied that the country should know what his lead was.

Amrita Bazar Patrika; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 9-6-1934

79. *SPEECH AT BALASORE*

[*June 8, 1934*][3]

Mr. Gandhi spoke for about 15 minutes. He began by explaining the reason for abandoning his tour on foot and said that as he had been drenched by rain for two nights and as it rained the whole day at a place called Turunga he had to abandon his walking tour. He then touched on untouchability and said that we are sons of the same God and as He does not

[1] Wife of Gopabandhu Babu and Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh

[2] What follows is reproduced from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

[3] From "Weekly Letter" in *Harijan*, 15-6-1934

make any distinction between His sons it would be sin for us if we do so. No distinction should be made between the different castes among the Hindus, between the caste Hindus and the Harijans, and also between the Hindus and the non-Hindus, as they are all brothers. It is a sin not to remove this distinction and a religion which does not obliterate this distinction is doomed to extinction as a result of this sin. He asked the audience to remove untouchability.

He then touched on the evil of intoxicants and said that the use of intoxicants deadens one's intellect and might bring on even insanity. He exhorted the audience to give up intoxicants.

Concluding, he said that everyone should do some work, as idleness is always bad. He asked the audience to take to spinning by charkha, if they had nothing else to do, as that will remove Orissa's poverty.

He then asked for contributions for the Harijan Fund.

From a copy: C.W. 10619. Courtesy: Government of Orissa

80. LETTER TO TARA JASWANI

June 9, 1934

CHI. TARA,

I am writing this in a running train. I received the sum of Rs. 50. Do what you can there. Sushilabehn spoke to me about you and I was glad to hear what she said. Write to me whenever you wish to.

Natvarlal must have left for Rangoon.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI TARABEHN
C/o MESSRS KANTILAL MOHANLAL & CO.
37 BURTTOLA STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8786

81. *SPEECH TO TEXTILE WORKERS, NAGPUR*

June 9, 1934

Mahatma Gandhi arrived here by mail *en route* to Wardha and was greeted by a large number of textile workers (on strike) at the railway station.

Gandhiji, addressing the gathering, said that he had invited the labour leaders to Wardha to meet him the next day when he would ascertain the situation from them. He would then give his advice which he hoped would do good to them.

Gandhiji assured them that though they were labourers of today, he was a labourer for the last 20 years. Though he practised as a lawyer he always lived with labourers and lived like them.

Gandhiji was presented with donations amounting to Rs. 50 at the station.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-6-1934

82. *TO MAHAGUJARAT*

No one has expressed any disapproval of the pilgrimage on foot. But there is some discontent in all the provinces. Everyone wants to take me from one town to another. But I am really tired of travelling by train and car. We are sprawling in a field at the moment. We have the sky above and the earth below. We are about fifty persons here, perhaps more, but not less. We are so far removed from trains and cars that we hear no sound of them at all. It is no small matter to come in contact with the villagers and know the Harijans in the countryside. The Harijans of the village have their meals in our kitchen every day. At night there are 'magic lantern' lectures by Gopabandhu Babu. Our girls go to the Harijan colony every day. Five girls from Rama Devi's Ashram walk in front. They ask for no amenities. On their own they get up at three in the morning and set out. They work hard throughout the day. If I live like this I feel that untouchability would be soon wiped out. Even if this calculation turns out to be wrong, it can be said about this activity that "no effort undertaken is lost, there is no fear of failure,

Even a little of this righteous course delivers one from great fear".[1]

This is a first-hand experience. But how would [our] colleagues in other provinces believe it? How would they be convinced of the maxim that the universe is the reflection of our own selves? Bengal swallowed a bitter pill. It gave all its time to Utkal. And now I hear that our colleagues in Bengal are planning pilgrimages on foot in several places. No such thing is known to be happening anywhere else. Why not? If such pilgrimages are undertaken in good faith and in a spirit of sacrifice, how long can untouchability last? But how can such faith be created among our colleagues?

Hence, we will have to go round in the other provinces as best as we can. Camping in one place also seems to be a difficult proposition but our colleagues must bear with this much at least. Let people from the whole province come wherever I camp. Let them meet, exchange ideas and bring purses by way of expiation from their places—I want copper coins from many, not silver from a few. Untouchability will not be wiped out with the help of rupees. I have never heard of anyone's heart being melted because of money. If an individual's donation is the token of his change of heart, it would not help the Harijans but will help those who consider themselves caste Hindus. Hence, I expect the people of Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch

1. to know that this activity is purely religious;

2. to mix with the people and, facing all opposition, give them the message of removal of untouchability;

3. to collect individual donations if they are offered by way of expiation—and not for my sake;

4. to come and see me after cleansing their heart of all the impurities and freeing yourselves from selfishness and feelings of hatred and jealousy.

5. Even in Ahmedabad do not insist on taking me round. Let me sit in one place, wherever it may be. There is a telegram from Kathiawar full of woes. They demand two days for Kathiawar. Their demand is justified. Right now I am not able to find any solution. But something would have been decided by the time this is printed. My mind prompts me to keep touring in this very place. But I am aware that it is not neces-

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 40

sarily one's duty to follow one's inclination. One has to go against the promptings of the mind too. As Mirabai has said:

By a delicate string the Lord holds me;
He can pull me as He wills.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 10-6-1934

83. MESSAGE TO WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

AS AT WARDHA,
June 10, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. Believers in peace and non-violence dare not look for immediate tangible results. Patience—infinite—is the characteristic of non-violence, impatience, of violence. Let them also know that non-violence is not a passive state. Concentration on it sets free the most active forces in the world.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: G.N. 9751. Also C.W. 6285. Courtesy: Mirabehn

84. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

June 10, 1934

BHAI MUNSHI,

Let us see how much so many of you lawyers collect.

I hope the meeting for swadeshi will not clash with the time for the meeting of the Parliamentary Board. I will keep myself ready to answer all the arguments and to explain my plan. But I don't know whether I shall be able to convince the people.

Earn as much as you wish without sacrificing truth, but spend on yourself as if you had nothing of your own.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI K. M. MUNSHI, ADVOCATE
RIDGE ROAD, MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

From Gujarati: C.W. 7543. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

85. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

June 11, 1934

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

My congratulations to you on your being assaulted.[1] Go on writing to the officers [about the incident]. Can a protest meeting not be held in Baroda and Navsari? It was not you but the Harijans who were assaulted. You should not, therefore, have the slightest hesitation in taking whatever measures may be necessary.

I understand about Bhavnagar. It must be given two full days, otherwise the work there cannot be completed. In Ahmedabad a car will have to be used for all movement. I have not been able to go as far as renouncing completely the use of a car. But the fact that you had such fear made me happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. PARIKSHITLAL MAJMUDAR
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 34001. Also C.W. 115. Courtesy: Parikshitlal L. Majmudar

86. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

June 11, 1934

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter.

Shall I entrust the Harijanshala to you on a salary of Rs. 25? Or shall I send you on the same salary to a village for the charkha work? Will you learn the technique of the charkha? I can also send you to the Sabarmati Harijan Ashram on Rs. 10

[1] The addressee, Secretary, Gujarat branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, was mistaken for a Harijan at a village in Baroda State. He was beaten up for drinking water from a *parab*, a place on public road to supply water to thirsty people.

a month. Do you feel yourself up to it? In these matters I am growing more exacting. In no other way can untouchability be eradicated or the charkha established. What more? Ponder over it and let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2413

87. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

WARDHA,
June 12, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got all your letters. But I could get no time at all to reply to them. Today I woke up at one and started writing.

You have taken up a good job indeed there. We are faced with such difficult moral problems here that I miss you very much. Since, however, you have undertaken the present work with my consent, I can do nothing for some time. You must be permitted to continue your experiment. I am not quite happy that the place is Rajkot. But since you yourself see no difficulty in that, I don't worry. My faith rests on yours.

I assume that you will see me either in Ahmedabad or Bhavnagar. Would you like to have Prema or Gangabehn with you there?

. . .[1] has fallen once again, and this time very low indeed. He must leave this place now. The final decision will be made today. Some other moral lapses also have been discovered. I don't write about them here for want of time. Vinoba has undertaken a seven-day fast. It has been decided that Vinoba should live here now, but that will not be enough. He must have somebody like you to help him. Can you make any useful suggestion in this connection?

And now about Jamnadas. His complaint is completely unjustified. But there is no remedy for a suspicious nature. I have always given him help or advice whenever he sought either. I have given him advice even without his seeking it. Jamnadas can say that I have neglected him only if you also can make that complaint. When I have no doubt as to the correctness of the

[1] The name has been omitted.

course he is following and no advice to give, why need I write unnecessarily? Whenever he asked me to take him with me on my travels I did so. If he didn't learn anything, how could I help that? What work could I give to anybody who accompanied me only occasionally as he did?

This time there are so many persons wanting to accompany me that it is a problem how to take them all. I certainly don't require all of them. If, now, Jamnadas also comes, he cannot but be superfluous. And I, too, would be busy with problems connected with my own work. This is the position. If you can understand him, [try to advise him and] guide him properly. If he would let me guide him, I am ready to do so. I would assign him a village and put it under his sole charge. Would he go to Phœnix? Can't he do some work under you? Why can't he run the school after you have put it on a sound foundation? Or why doesn't he go somewhere to improve his health? Would he like to go to Almora? Does he know his own mind? Does he want to marry? You can show this letter to him.

I have been thinking about Sharma. He has decided to adopt a simple life and live with Ramdas. He wants to take the latter to Phœnix. Some decision will be taken today. Jamna owes me one letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8402. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

88. LETTER TO M. R. MASANI

June 14, 1934

MY DEAR MASANI,

I have read the questions you left with me as also the Congress Socialist Party's programme.

I welcome the rise of the Socialist Party in the Congress. But I can't say that I like the programme as it appears in the printed pamphlet. It seems to me to ignore Indian conditions and I do not like the assumption underlying many of its propositions which go to show that there is necessarily antagonism between the classes and the masses or between the labourers and the capitalists, such that they can never work for mutual good. My own experience covering a fairly long period

is to the contrary. What is necessary is that labourers or workers should know their rights and should also know how to assert them. And since there never has been any right without a corresponding duty, in my opinion a manifesto is incomplete without emphasizing the necessity of performance of duty and showing what that duty is.

You would not want me at this stage to examine your programme clause by clause, but if you so desire and if you do not mind consulting my convenience, I would appoint for you a time when I could discuss with you, and those whom you may wish, the whole of your programme in detail.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 4126. Also C.W. 4884. Courtesy: M. R. Masani

89. *LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI*

BOMBAY[1],
June 14, 1934

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got both your letters. Your convenience and wish will be my wish. I understand your problems. Leave all the arrangements to the Reception Committee and be content with what you may have to do to facilitate its work. This will not show that your love for me has diminished. One is not always in a position to demonstrate one's love. More when we meet.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5933. Also C.W. 3249. Courtesy: Mahesh P. Pattani

[1] In the source, this is not in Gandhiji's handwriting.

90. INTERVIEW TO MEMBERS OF HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH[1]

BOMBAY,
June 14, 1934

The first work done by Gandhiji on arrival was to meet the members[2] of the Provincial Sangh. Sheth Mathuradas after introducing the members gave a resume of their work. The Sangh spends well in scholarships and runs three chawls providing accommodation for nearly 200 families. In answer to the question what more was to be done by the Sangh, Gandhiji told the members that, whilst he held temple-entry to be an integral part of the programme, he would like them to concentrate their attention on the education of the *savarna* Hindus as to the scope of the work and the necessity of removal of the evil. This work should be done by purely voluntary workers of recognized status. The other thing was extension of constructive work. He would like to see a decent eating-house run by the Sangh where Harijans could feel they could go without the slightest restraint. A well-managed eating-house could become a centre of culture for the Harijans and an object lesson to all showing that Harijans had eating habits as clean as those of the average *savarna* Hindus. It was true that some of them were not cleanly dressed. But they were no more likely to visit these places than the numerous equally dirtily dressed *savarna* Hindus. The two things he mentioned were only by way of illustration. If they would have an exhaustive census of all the Harijans in Bombay and have a catalogue of their disabilities due to untouchability, they could prepare a definite programme of work. Gandhiji expected the Sangh to approach the Bombay Corporation in the many matters in which it alone could render effective help.[3]

Mahatma Gandhi, after some discussion, expressed appreciation of the action of the Bombay Board in renting three Improvement Trust chawls and giving them for the use of Harijans. He also desired that the Local Board should exert its influence with Hindu landlords to see that they let out their houses for Harijans, and also persuade Hindu owners of restaurants

[1] This and the following item have been extracted from "Weekly Letter".

[2] Sheth Mathuradas, Dahanukar, Avantikabai Gokhale, Hansa Mehta, V. L. Mehta, P. Baloo, Narayan Kajoolkar, Dr. Solanki, S. K. Bole, J. K. Mehta and K. L. Jhaveri

[3] What follows is reproduced from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

to remove the bar on Harijans. Mahatmaji asked the Board to persuade individual Hindus to engage Harijans as domestic servants and employees in offices. He impressed upon the Board the fact that while everywhere he found little hostility to the cause of removal of untouchability there was everywhere indifference and inertia. He wanted the Harijan Sangh to fight this inertia. He also promised to give sympathetic consideration in regard to the allocation of the collections and make his recommendation to the Board.[1]

In answer to a question, Gandhiji said Harijan work had nothing to do with politics. The Sangh approached it purely from the religious and the social standpoint. The Sangh was, therefore, open to all Indeed, he would like all the offices to be filled by non-Congressmen, if they would come. Congressmen should take pride in working under them This work of mighty reform in Hinduism could not be a monopoly of any party or group. He was glad to be able to say that during his tour he had found in many places that Government were working unstintingly under non-Congressmen.

Harijan, 29-6-1934; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 15-6-1934

91. INTERVIEW TO MEMBERS OF GANDHI SEVA SENA

BOMBAY,
June 14, 1934

The next appointment was with the sisters led by Shrimati Gosibehn Captain. They had a great deal of silent service to their credit. But Gosibehn would not detain Gandhiji with a recital of those services She wanted him to speak to the lukewarm, of whom she said they had their fair share. That gave Gandhiji the opportunity of speaking to them on the necessity of dealing with the root evil. What were the weak of body to do? Gandhiji said it was easy enough for such to do one thing. They could keep a Harijan boy or girl to serve them. Given the change of heart and willingness to serve, there was limitless scope for all to serve. What were the women to do where the elders were opposed to the reform? For them no doubt the difficulty was great. But so was the opportunity for work. They had to commence with the conversion of their elders, and this they could do by gentleness and firmness. They must be prepared to suffer for their convictions. Character played a great part in every movement of reform. Only the pure of heart could touch the hearts of their neighbours.[2]

[1] The Bombay Provincial Board had requested Gandhiji to get the Central Board to permit them to retain 75 per cent of the collections made in Bombay instead of 50.

[2] What follows is reproduced from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

Mahatma Gandhi in the course of his address advised women to take an increasing interest in the work for the uplift of Harijans and spread knowledge about health, hygiene and cleanliness among the Harijan womenfolk.

Harijan, 29-6-1934; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 15-6-1934

92. NOTES

The 'J. K. Well Fund'[1]

I can easily emphasize the appeal made by Thakkar Bapa, published in the last issue of the *Harijan*, asking for donations to a fund for constructing wells for Harijans. In walking through the Puri and Cuttack Districts, I have observed scarcity of water almost everywhere, and the reader can imagine the plight of Harijans when there is scarcity all over. This is a charity to which all sanatanist reformers and others can subscribe; and let it be remembered that, whilst unreasoned prejudice may prevent Harijans from making use of one of the primary necessities of life, every well constructed for the use of these will relieve not only their distress but will add to the general supply of water. All wells constructed for the sake of Harijans will be available to all who care to make use of them. I hope, therefore, that there will be a generous response to the appeal made by Thakkar Bapa.

A Right Step

The C. P. Government deserves congratulations for announcing that henceforth the so-called Depressed Classes are to be known as Harijans, and criminal tribes as wandering tribes. Both the names 'Depressed Classes' and 'criminal tribes' were certainly offensive. And let us hope that the other Governments will copy the good example set by the C. P. Government.

Harijan, 15-6-1934

[1] A gentleman who wanted to remain anonymous had donated in June 1933 a sum of Rs. 25,000 to be paid in instalments of Rs. 2,000 per month for constructing wells for Harijans all over the country. The amount was called under this name after it was fully paid up.

93. *HARIJAN* v. *NON-HARIJAN*

"Rather than do constructive work among Harijans, will it not be better to create intense dissatisfaction amongst them with their condition and thus promote such self-helf as they can generate among themselves? It is no use your trying to convert the *savarnas*." This was one of the questions that was asked at a meeting of workers. As it is an important question, it is as well to give the gist of the answer given by me at the meeting. The question betrays ignorance of the whole scope of the movement. To create dissatisfaction among the Harijans can bring no immediate relief to them and can only tend to perpetuate a vicious division amongst Hindus. The object of the movement is to do away with this utterly unnatural division and to secure for Harijans the simple justice to which they are entitled at the hands of *savarna* Hindus. Thus the movement is one of repentance and reparation. Hence it is confined, on the one hand, to constructive work among Harijans and, on the other, to conversion of *savarnas* by persuasion, arguments and, above all, by correct conduct on the part of the reformers. If the latter have gentleness, forbearance and patience, what is scoffed at as irreligion by sanatanists will presently be regarded as the essence of religion. Has not Manu said, "Know that to be dharma which is generally observed by the learned, the good and those who are free from passion and hate and which is felt in one's heart"? If, therefore, the reformers possess the qualities insisted upon by Manu, there will be no doubt whatsoever that the hearts of the sanatanists will respond. Whether they do or not, the service rendered to suppressed humanity by reformers will be a substantial contribution to human progress and will be its own reward. It will certainly find honourable mention in God's eternal book of life.

Another question discussed was, "Do you not think that the improvement of the condition of starving peasants is more important than the service of Harijans? Will you not, therefore, form peasant organizations which will naturally include Harijans in so far as their economic condition is concerned?"

I wish that what the questioner says were true. Unfortunately, the betterment of the economic condition of peasants

will not necessarily include the betterment of that of the Harijans. The peasant who is not a Harijan can rise as high as he likes or opportunity permits him, but not so the poor suppressed Harijan. The latter cannot own and use land as freely as the *savarna* peasant. He cannot command the labour that he needs. In many places he cannot even buy the seed he requires. And assume for one moment that the Harijan peasant is able to better his economic condition equally with the non-Harijan. Even so, he will still labour under the numerous social disabilities he was labouring under before. Only, because of the very betterment, he will feel them much more keenly than when he was a pauper. Therefore, a special organization for the service of Harijans is a peremptory want in order to deal with the special and peculiar disabilities of Harijans. Substantial improvement of these, the lowest strata of society, must include that of the whole of society. Moreover, the ordinary peasant is by no means neglected. For instance, the All-India Spinners' Association is solely engaged in bettering the peasant's economic condition by educating him to add a handicraft to husbandry and thus have an automatic insurance against famine and always a substantial addition to his scanty income.

Harijan, 15-6-1934

94. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

June 15, 1934

Gandhiji, at the outset, asked his audience if he was sufficiently audible and the ladies occupying the balconies replied cheerfully they were able to hear him. . . .

In the course of his address to them, Gandhiji said that he was glad he was speaking to women before he would speak to the men, for women were superior to men in faith and love, and his battle would be more than half won if he could enlist their whole-hearted support. He hoped that the women of Bombay would rise to the occasion. Women held the key position in society and it would be a tragedy if they blocked the path of reform.

Untouchability had its origin not in religion, but in mere pride of race and the tendency of the strong to keep down the weak It had persisted so long because Harijans were cut off from all contact and consigned to the worst places If, however, they were allowed freely to mix with all classes of society and to practise all professions on a footing of equality, we would

[1] The first and last paragraphs are from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

in a few years be surprised that they should ever have been looked down upon.

The reformer's was an uphill task, as we had imported religion into untouchability. Sacrifice was essential, but service was impossible without sacrifice, and no sacrifice could be too great to be offered in order to wipe out the deep and long-standing stain of untouchability.

Appealing for funds, Gandhiji hastened to clear any impression in their minds that he was collecting money always. He was there to ask for the support of the women of Bombay for the cause of Harijans, which was dearer to him than anything else. Before they paid the money, they should realize that they were paying for what they had done or allowed to be done in the past.

Harijan, 29-6-1934; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 16-6-1934

95. INTERVIEW TO B. R. AMBEDKAR

BOMBAY,
June 16, 1934

In the afternoon Dr. Ambedkar interviewed Gandhiji along with Dr. Solanki and other friends[1] of his. Gandhiji asked Dr. Ambedkar for a criticism of the work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. The worthy Doctor suggested that the Sangh might economize on education and medical relief, as these were attended to by Government and there was a risk of duplication of effort in these matters. Again, education, in the first place, only benefited the individual, whether it would benefit society or not would depend upon what attitude the educated individual took up towards society. He would like the Sangh to concentrate on the primary object of securing full civic rights for Harijans, such as the right to draw water from public wells and to send children to public schools, without any discrimination being exercised against them. As regards cases of maltreatment of Harijans by villagers, such as those adduced by Dr. Ambedkar, Gandhiji said the Sangh was bound to deal with them. In fact, steps had actually been taken in numerous cases with more or less success. But in future Gandhiji would be glad if the Doctor was good enough to send him full facts about every incident of that description. In course of his tour of villages he had noticed that a change for the better was coming over them, but progress in that direction would be accelerated if he had the Doctor's valued co-operation. As regards education, Gandhiji did not think there was overlapping. In fact, the Sangh was unable to cope with the whole demand, as the right type of teachers were not readily available.

Harijan, 29-6-1934

[1] G. V. Naik, Amritrao Khambe and Baburao Gaekwad

96. SPEECH AT MEETING OF CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD, BOMBAY

June 16, 1934

After his consultation[1] Gandhiji addressed the Board in a speech which is described as one of the most moving and earnest speeches that he has ever delivered The main trend of the speech was that the Congress claimed to stand for the Muslims as well as the Hindus and the Sikhs and other communities and that, therefore, nothing should be done that would have the effect of making the Muslims feel that the Congress had departed from that position.

The majority of the Muslims had accepted the Communal Award. It was their duty to bring about such a voluntary settlement of the Communal Award as would satisfy all communities. They should not go to a third party to secure a modification of the Award. So long, however, as a voluntary settlement was not brought about, it would be betrayal of the Muslims to shake their confidence in the Congresss by taking up a position of uncompromising opposition to their view of the Communal Award.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-6-1934

[1] With M. M. Malaviya who, along with M. S Aney and some other members, had been pleading for the rejection of the Communal Award by the Parliamentary Board which met in Mani Bhuvan on June 15 and 16. The nationalist muslims had been supporting the view of the Ranchi Conference, that the Award should be neither accepted nor rejected, until an agreement was brought about between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The Board, therefore, sought Gandhiji's advice The Congress Working Committee, which met in Mani Bhuvan on June 17 at the Parliamentary Board's request, accepted Gandhiji's view. For the Working Committee Resolution, *vide* Appendix II.

97. SPEECH AT AZAD MAIDAN, BOMBAY[1]

June 16, 1934

I am thankful to you who have taken the trouble to attend this meeting, the continuous downpour of rain notwithstanding. But, fortunately, it has ceased to rain just at this moment, and let me deliver briefly my message to you before it recommences.

I must confess it was with great hesitation that I decided to come to Bombay. For one thing, the labourers in the local mills are at present on strike. I call myself a labourer and, ever since I was in South Africa, I have tried to live a labourer's life, with considerable success. You can, therefore, easily realize how deeply I sympathize with workers in their distress. My sympathy is, if possible, all the greater, because there are large numbers of Harijans among them. I believe I have some ability as a peacemaker in industrial disputes, but I am sorry I cannot use it in the present case for reasons I need not explain here. Of course, I have no direct contact with labour here and less, perhaps, with their leaders. Then, again, trade in Bombay has not yet emerged out of the valley of depression, and only recently you have made a handsome contribution to the Bihar Relief Fund.

I cannot set much store by your purse of Rs. 39,000, which, as the Chairman has said, might go up to Rs. 50,000. You have always showered upon me your love as well as your gold. But there is an essential difference between this purse and the funds you have raised on other occasions. Your Harijan purse is part of your penance for our maltreatment of Harijans. If the payment is not a token of such penance, it is absolutely worthless in my estimation. And if it is penance, you give to the utmost of your ability. Indeed, I know of a friend who has given up certain necessary articles of food ever since my fast[2]

[1] This appeared under the title "At the Maidan" with the following introductory note by Valji G. Desai: "On 16th instant, punctually at the advertised time, Gandhiji came in spite of rain to address the public meeting. Sheth Mathuradas [Vissanji, Chairman Harijan Sevak Sangh] presided. The following is the substance of his speech."

[2] From May 8 to 29, 1933, undertaken "for the purification of self and associates"; *vide* Vol. LV, pp. 74-5.

and has thus been able regularly to remit two rupees and four annas every month. This two rupees is more valuable than Rs. 2,000 of a wealthy person. Even a cowrie honestly acquired and sincerely given is a pearl beyond price.

I am certain that we shall be blotted out of the Book of Life, if we do not completely destroy untouchability while still there is time. I do not know of a sin more heinous than that in the whole catalogue of sins, for it is practised in the name of religion. It is one thing to fall because we are weak; it is another thing altogether to fall and to imagine at the same time that we are rising. How can we dare to treat our brothers, every whit as good as ourselves, as untouchables by birth? You must have heard about Shri Parikshitlal, the indefatigable Harijan servant, who drank water at a *parab* and then went to Harijan quarters. For this he was severely beaten by a Hindu constable in Baroda State.[1] This shows you cannot distinguish between a Harijan and a non-Harijan. It also shows that, if you are a Harijan, you are done for. You may not expect justice. You have no right even to quench your thirst. What a hue and cry would have been raised, if a political worker had been lathi-charged by the police? But neither we here nor the people in Baroda State seem to have raised their voice against the treatment accorded to Shri Parikshitlal.

It will not do to say that Harijans eat carrion, drink liquor and have dirty habits. What else can we expect if we segregate them and kick them at every step? We keep them in places unfit even for cattle, and then affect surprise if they develop any bad habits. But are we prepared to consider them as part and parcel of our society if they shed all evil habits? The fact is we must bear with them and try to improve them. My heart wept within me when I observed the housing conditions of the Harijan employees of Bombay Municipality. Bombay is beautiful, indeed, but wherein does its beauty consist—in Malabar Hill or in the Kachrapatti at Mahalakshmi? I tell you we can live in equanimity on the Ridge only after decent housing conditions have been secured for these Harijans. And the expenditure involved in this modest programme is a mere flea-bite for a Municipality, which counts its income in crores, and for the citizens of no mean city who once gave away 43 lakhs of rupees in a single month. I beseech you to have a look at the plague-spots in Bombay and to move the Munici-

[1] *Vide* also p. 73

pality to deal with them at once. How would you like to live near a sewer even for a single day?

If you go to Walpakhadi, you will have an opportunity of seeing what a change for the better can be brought about by a handful of workers like Shri Purushottamdas, Shri Morarji Sheth and Shri Sopariwala. Even their work is not perfect, but it looms large in our horizon, as there is little like it besides. It is easy to criticize workers and to say, for instance, that the members of the Provincial Board sit in armchairs all day long and should, therefore, be driven out of office. We love to criticize, but we do not know how to galvanize our organizations to activity. We never offer them our services, and without thus offering our services we have no right to pass mere destructive criticism. I freely admit that there is much room for improvement in the Sangh's work. But they are working honestly and to the best of their capacity. We must appreciate their work, and then suggest fresh lines of activity, such as, for example, establishment of an eating-house where Harijans would be served with respect in common with the rest of the citizens. I may say in passing that for people thus to sit in a line at dinner is not inter-dining. I therefore hope that everyone of you will co-operate with the Sangh and thus increase its capacity for usefulness. And you must not say that you are unfit to render service. If only you have love for the cause, everything else will be easy.[1]

Harijan, 29-6-1934

98. TELEGRAM TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON[2]

[On or after *June 16, 1934*][3]

IF CONGRESSMEN ELECT YOU KNOWING YOUR VIEWS THERE IS NO LEGAL BAR AGAINST HOLDING OFFICE.

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-6-1934

[1] At the conclusion of the meeting, Gandhiji auctioned several articles which were presented to him.

[2] & [3] The telegram was in reply to the addressee's dated June 16, 1934, which read: "Regarding the Working Committee resolution expecting the Congress workers to render assistance to the Parliamentary Board kindly wire opinion whether those Congressmen who refuse to take part in elections should remain on Congress executive bodies."

99. TELEGRAM TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

[On or before *June 17, 1934*][1]

JUST READ SAD NEWS[2]. SUCH WAS GOD'S WILL. I KNOW YOU WILL BEAR THE LOSS BRAVELY.

The Hindu, 18-6-1934

100. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

June 17, 1934

CHI. AMTUSSALAAM,

Have patience. If possible, I will certainly take you to Poona with me. But patience you should have.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 309

101. INTERVIEW TO ALL-INDIA SWADESHI LEAGUE DEPUTATION[3]

BOMBAY,
[*June 17, 1934*][4]

During the last few months, Mr. Gandhi has been approached by several workers in swadeshi for a comprehensive definition of 'swadeshi' for their guidance. In trying to prepare an exhaustive definition and in the course of discussion with co-workers in the extreme South, he discovered that such a definition was almost impossible—it was a spirit that was growing and undergoing variations daily. He suggested the following workable formula for the guidance of the All-India Swadeshi League and kindred organizations:

[1] The telegram was published under the date-line, "Coimbatore, June 17, 1934".
[2] Of the death of addressee's wife
[3] It consisted of Lalubhai Samaldas, K. M. Munshi, Mrs. Raiji, J. A. D. Naoroji, S. A. Brelvi, Vaikunth L. Mehta, B. G. Kher, Maganlal, Purushottamdas and Dhirajlal Modi.
[4] From *The Bombay Chronicle*

"For purposes of the All-India Swadeshi League, swadeshi covers useful articles manufactured in India through small industries which are in need of popular education for their support and which will accept the guidance of the All-India Swadeshi League in regulating prices and in the matter of wages and welfare of labour under their control. Swadeshi will, therefore, exclude articles manufactured through large and organized industries which are in no need of services of the All-India Swadeshi League and which can or do command State aid."

My formula as stated clearly is for the guidance of the Swadeshi League. It does not purport to cover the whole field of swadeshi. It is only by way of suggestion to the League to restrict the scope of its work to the encouragement and propagation of minor, particularly home industries to the exclusion of major organized ones. The object of making this suggestion is not to decry major industries or to ignore the benefit those industries have bestowed and in future may bestow on the country. But a body like the Swadeshi League need not become self-appointed advertising agents of those industries as it has hitherto been. They have ample resources at their command and they are well able to take care of themselves. The spirit of swadeshi has been sufficiently generated and it helps them without any effort of swadeshi organizations. These, if they are to be useful, have to concentrate their attention on the struggling industries. Any attempt to advertise the wares of large organized industries can only result in sending up the prices. This will be unjust to the consumer. It is a waste of effort to bring into being a philanthropic organization to help a successful business organization. We may not delude ourselves by the wish and belief that our efforts have helped the growth and advancement of those industries. It will be cheap self-satisfaction not substantiated by facts. I recall a conversation I had with Fazalbhai in 1920, when I was on the eve of launching movement for swadeshi. He characteristically said to me: 'If you Congressmen become advertising agents of ours, you will do no good to the country except to put a premium on our wares and raise the prices of our manufacturers.' His argument was sound. But he was nonplussed when I informed him that our object was to encourage hand-spun and hand-woven khadi which had been woefully neglected and which needed to be revived if starving unemployed millions were to be served. But khaddar is not the only such struggling industry. I therefore suggest you direct your attention and efforts to all small-scale

minor unorganized industries that are today in need of public support. They may be wiped out if no effort is made in their behalf. Some of these are being pushed back by large-scale industries which flood the markets with their manufactures. It is these that cry for your help.

Take the sugar industry. The largest major industry next to textile is that of the manufacture of sugar. It stands in no need of our assistance. Sugar factories are fast multiplying. Popular agencies have done little to help the growth of this industry. It is indebted for its growth to favourable legislation. And today the industry is so prosperous and expanding that production of jaggery is becoming a thing of the past. It is admittedly superior to refined sugar in its nutritive value. It is this very valuable cottage industry that cries out for your help. This, by itself, furnishes a large scope for research and substantial help. We have to investigate ways and means of keeping it alive. This is but an illustration of what I mean. I have no doubt in my mind that we add to national wealth, if we help small-scale industries. I have no doubt also that true swadeshi consists in encouraging and reviving these home industries. That alone can help the dumb millions. It also provides an outlet for creative faculties and resourcefulness of the people. It can usefully employ hundreds of youths in the country who are in need of employment. It may harness all the energy that at present runs to waste. I do not want anyone of those who are engaged in more remunerative occupations to leave them and take to minor industries just as I did with regard to the spinning-wheel. I would ask only those who suffer from unemployment and penury to take to some of these industries and add a little to their slender resources.

It will thus be seen that the change in activity that I have suggested to you does in no way conflict with the interests of major industries. I want to say only this much: Treat your national servants well, restrict your activities to minor industries and let major ones help themselves as they are doing today. Minor industries, I conceive, will not replace major ones but will supplement them. Of large industries, I even aspire to induce owners to take interest in this work, which is purely humanitarian. I am a well-wisher of the mill-owners, too, and they will bear me out when I say that I have not failed to help them when I could.

The Hindu, 26-7-1934; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 18-6-1934

102. LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA[1]

June 18, 1934

BHAI SAHEB,

I was deeply pained by what Jamnalalji told me today. What you have not done throughout your life, how will you do it today? This is not possible. Please give up the idea [of resigning] and listen to your friend. There can be no untoward result at all. Please come over to Poona. We shall talk over the matter there.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]

Reminiscences of Gandhiji, p. 209

103. LETTER TO M. S. ANEY

June 18, 1934

DEAR BAPUJI ANEY[2],

You dare not resign. And in any case not without a proper fight with me. I would undertake to prove to you that by remaining in both the Committees you will do no violence to your principle.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Reminiscences of Gandhiji, p. 209

[1] Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. B. C. Roy and Jamnalal Bajaj met Gandhiji early in the morning in connection with the reported intention of M. S. Aney and M. M. Malaviya to resign from the Congress as a protest against the Working Committee's resolution on the Communal Award (*vide* Appendix II). Gandhiji, who was observing silence, gave them this and the following letter to be delivered to the addressees.

[2] Popularly known as Loknayak Bapuji Aney

[3] *Vide* also the preceding item.

104. SILENCE DAY NOTES[1]

June 18, 1934

It is painful, but if it must happen it must be endured. The Congress will survive the shock.

I am quite clear in my mind that the elections must be faced. Such a big organization as the Congress cannot allow its fate to be decided by purely personal considerations. I anticipate no untoward results, if we regulate our work resolutely, calmly and honestly.

I am certain that nothing else can be done now. I cannot measure the amount of damage that it will do to the country if we retrace our steps now. Whatever it is, we cannot put a stop to this at this stage.[2]

You, the members of the Parliamentary Board, who are here (in Bombay) may meet once again, and if you arrive at the conclusion that if these two resignations stand, it would be impossible to proceed with the election work, you may advise the Working Committee accordingly. I am firm in my opinion expressed to you; but it has no value, because I have not to run the elections.

Reminiscences of Gandhiji, pp. 209-10

[1] According to the source, these were written after Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. B. C. Roy and Jamnalal Bajaj had reported to Gandhiji at about 10.30 a.m. that Aney and Madan Mohan Malaviya were not prepared to withdraw their resignations; *vide* also the two preceding items.

[2] The source has this paragraph in Hindi. According to Chandrashankar Shukla, what follows was written when "Bhulabhai Desai, who had just dropped in, strongly supported the plea of the other three leaders".

105. LETTER TO JAMNABEHN GANDHI

June 18, 1934

CHI. JAMNA,

I got your letter. I didn't get the previous one. But Prithuraj tells me that it was given to me. You have not said in your letter how you are faring. I cannot write more just now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 885. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

106. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BOMBAY,
June 18, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letters. But how could I get the time to reply to them immediately?

Jamnalalji's dissatisfaction with Keshu is increasing. The latter has not arrived here yet. I can't say what he will do. Tell Santok as much as you think advisable. I will write more when I get time.

We shall talk about Wardha, etc., when you come and see me at some place. A letter for Jamnadas is enclosed. It is difficult to know how to please him. If you can bring him along with you, do so. I think he will listen to you.

I will have a further talk with Dr. Sharma when he comes to Poona. Amtussalaam has been operated upon for piles. She is in Dr. Mehta's hospital. I met Amina and Qureshi. Qureshi will come to Ahmedabad.

I will speak to Mathuradas Sheth or write to him afterwards. Manilal will not pay the subscription. It is about clearance time now, and so I don't write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8403. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

107. LETTER TO VIDYA R. PATEL

June 18, 1934

CHI. VIDYA,

I hope you are keeping your promise. You should never cry but should always be smiling, should work hard and not worry about marrying. You should tell yourself that you will marry when God sends a suitable young man. One who is always absorbed in work is never troubled by other thoughts. Write to me from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9586. Courtesy: Ravindra R. Patel

108. TELEGRAM TO HIRALAL SHARMA[1]

POONA,
June 20, 1934

SHARMA
CARE "SHREE"
BOMBAY

FIVE MORNING PARNAKUTI.

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48,* facing p. 73

[1] The addressee had sought an appointment with Gandhiji on June 21, 1934, to discuss with him Ramdas's treatment.

109. LETTER TO MIRABEHN[1]

June 20, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

What a parting! It was a chilly parting. But I know that I shall never have deeper or richer yet unselfish affection bestowed upon me. That very affection has embarrassed me. But that is a passing phase. May God keep you and bless your effort. You will stay out as long as necessary and return as soon as you can.

Give my love to the sage and his sister[2]. You will not fail to see Efy[3]. My love to her and all the other friends.

I hope your things came in quite in time.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6286. Courtesy: Mirabehn Also G.N. 9752

110. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

June 21, 1934

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I could read your letter only this morning. You may certainly live with Krishnan Nair at the Ashram. One learns by doing. There is no need at present to join Vinoba. No time to write more. Are you keeping well?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2414

[1] In *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, Mirabehn explains: "I accompanied Bapu throughout the whole of the Central and South Indian part of the tour. By the time we had come to North again as far as Bombay, an inner urge came to me that I should go to England and speak of Bapu and his message to the people, specially of the working classes. I went straight to Bapu and told him He said I should go and, within five days, I was on a ship sailing to Europe. The following letter is the first Bapu wrote to me after my departure"

[2] Romain Rolland and Madeleine Rolland

[3] Efy Aristarchi

111. SPEECH AT MAHILA ASHRAM, POONA[1]

June 21, 1934

At the Ashram Gandhiji was garlanded by Harijan girls and, in the course of his address to the girls, he said that he owed his first acquaintance with Professor Karve and the great work he was doing for the women of India to the late Mr. Gokhale, who desired him to see for himself what one man could do in the cause of women's progress. Since then his ship had long sailed on troubled waters, with the result that he could pay them a second visit only after about 20 years, and that, too, by accident. He did not have enough time even for his immediate work, but still he was glad to be in their midst. He hoped that the girls, when they grew up, would so regulate their lives as to be worthy of the great sacrifices of the Karves in their interest. With such an example before them, they dare not lead lives of luxury and self-indulgence. There was an old saying in Sanskrit that learning is not learning, if it does not lead to deliverance from everything petty and selfish. He would, therefore, expect the girls to spend themselves in the service of their less fortunate sisters.

He was sorry to note that Hindi was only optional and not compulsory in a national institution such as the Women's University. He would suggest that they should have English optional and Hindi compulsory, for all girls would take up English as a matter of course owing to the prevalent fashion, but they would not so readily take up Hindi. When he himself was a student at school, his head master had made physical culture, which was then unpopular, compulsory, with a penalty of one anna for a day's absence from the gymnasium, which he had once to pay.[2] The same rule applied to Hindi, which had not yet become popular, though necessary. They could not serve the nation properly without a working knowledge of the national language. And they could easily acquire a mastery over Hindi, as it was closely akin to Marathi as well as to other languages of North India.

Harijan, 6-7-1934

[1] This and the following item have been extracted from "Weekly Letter".
[2] *Vide* Vol XXXIX, p. 17.

112. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, POONA[1]

June 21, 1934

Gandhiji gave them his impressions of the Harijan quarters he had visited and advised them to go there with brooms, baskets and spades and give those places a thorough spring-cleaning. Then, again, they could draw up maps of localities and take a census of the Harijan population. They could help the Harijans to improve their houses by raising the height of the walls where necessary. They could teach the children as well as the adults, not making a fetish of the three R's, but attending to sanitation, hygiene and abstinence from liquor, in the first instance.

Harijan, 6-7-1934

113. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 22, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter and postcard. God be with you. I am in the midst of appointments without break. God be with you.

Love from us all.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6287. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9753

[1] In their address the students had expressed their willingness to render Harijan service and asked Gandhiji to guide them in the matter.

114. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

June 22, 1934

BHAI RAJENDRA PRASAD,

I had your letter from Jiradei. Not a day passes when we do not think of you. I hope you are composed now. How much time do you need to resolve your domestic affairs?[1] What about the expenses? Where will Janardan[2] live now? Write to me about all this. I hope the relief work is going on.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 9716. Courtesy: Dr. Rajendra Prasad

115. INTERVIEW TO NATIONAL EDUCATION WORKERS[3]

POONA,
June 22, 1934

In the course of his conversation Mr. Gandhi said that institutions that are under ban by the Government should not try to get the ban lifted by applying to the Government or by other means. He further emphasized that as municipal and local bodies were semi-Governmental, help from such bodies should not be taken for national education.

Asked if Harijans, while getting the benefits of national education from Congress organization, should also receive education from Government schools, Mr. Gandhi said that as long as we are not considering Harijans as part of our society we cannot apply the same rules of national education to them. They can adopt all means to get education either at national schools or Government schools.

Questioned if the objects of national education should be to produce village workers in contra-distinction to producing self-supporting national-

[1] The addressee's elder brother Mahendra Prasad who had been in charge of all domestic responsibilities had died earlier in the month; *vide* "Telegram to Rejendra Prasad", p. 58.

[2] Son of Mahendra Prasad

[3] Arranged under the auspices of the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith; a questionnaire was presented to Gandhiji by the workers.

minded workers, Mr. Gandhi said that the attention of workers should be directed to the creation of village workers as opposed to city workers That should be the primary object of national education Mr Gandhi opined that primary education was most needed in the system of national education He approved of the ideal of an All-India National Education Board, but said that the time was not yet ripe for such measures, but it depended on workers to prove its utility and for bringing such a proposal before the next Working Committee meeting. Mr. Gandhi emphasized the need for public education as part of national education.

The Hindu, 23-6-1934

116. SPEECH AT MEETING TO COMMEMORATE THE PROPHET'S DEATH[1]

POONA,
June 23, 1934

My friendship with the Mussalmans does not date from yesterday but from the time when I was a young man fifty years ago. My first visit to South Africa was in connection with the affairs of a Mussalman firm in that country. And there I had the privilege of coming into intimate touch with Muslim friends, for years together. In India too, you know, what close association there was between the Ali Brothers and myself. And although Maulana Shaukat Ali and I have appeared to have been estranged from each other, he knows that he has me always in his pocket.

Such being my relations with Mussalmans, I felt it to be my duty to study the life of the Prophet. I had tried to do this in South Africa but then I did not know sufficiently. In India imprisonment brought me good luck and thus I had the opportunity to read Maulana Shibli's biography of the Prophet which the late Hakim Saheb Ajmalkhan was good enough to send me at my request. At the same time I also read the volume on companions of the Prophet. I had read English works on Islam and the Prophet.

These studies led me to the conclusion that the Koran and the Bible were sacred books for me and not alone the Vedas and the *Gita*. Hazrat Mahomed was a great Prophet and so was Jesus Christ. From my reading I received the impression that the Prophet was a seeker of Truth. He was godfearing.

[1] Held under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Fide-e-Islam. Gandhiji spoke in Hindi.

In this I know I am not telling you anything new. I am only describing to you how I was impressed by his life. He suffered endless persecution. He was brave and feared no man but God alone. He did what he considered to be right in scorn of consequences. He was never found to say one thing and do another. He acted as he felt. If there was a change in his opinion, the next day he responded to the change without counting the cost and regardless of popular censure or opposition.

The Prophet was a Fakir. He had renounced everything. He could have commanded wealth if he had so desired. Even as you would, I shed tears of joy when I read of the privations he, his family and companions suffered voluntarily. How can a Truth-seeker like me help respecting one whose mind was constantly fixed on God, who ever walked in God's fear and who had boundless compassion for mankind?

You all read the Koran. But how few put into practice what you read? You will perhaps retort that, if you do not live up to the precepts of the Koran, nor do the Hindus act according to the precepts of the *Gita*, and you will be right. It only comes to this that if both the communities followed the teachings of their respective faiths, communal quarrels would be a thing of the past. But at present some men in both communities appear to have taken leave of their senses, and are absorbed in slinging mud at one another. I will not have addressed this meeting in vain, if a single Mussalman will thereby come to a true understanding of the situation, and instead of picking holes learns to love other communities as well as his own.

The Hindu, 29-6-1934

117. LETTER TO CHARU PROBHA SEN GUPTA

June 24, 1934

DEAR CHARU PROBHA,

You should live where you think best. Your son has come to a wise decision. Living honourably is to live on one's own body labour. That is or should be our ideal. We can only go near it as much as we can.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI CHARU PROBHA SEN
RAJBARI, BENGAL

From a photostat: G.N. 8707. Also C.W. 1493. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

118. LETTER TO BEHCHARDAS J. DOSHI

June 24, 1934

BHAI BEHCHARDAS,

I don't remember having received your previous postcard. There is no plan about my staying in Delhi. But do see me when I pass that way.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 1341

119. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[June 24, 1934][1]

I should certainly be very happy if Father and Mother come and see me at Wadhwan. But that will be night time. Why should we give them that trouble? I get their blessings whenever I need them, and I am content with that. However, if their love for me draws them to Wadhwan by all means let them come.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M U./I. Also C.W. 8404. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

120. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS JAJU

June 24, 1934

BHAI JAJUJI,

I have your sweet letter.

In courtship there is necessarily some mental unchastity. In order to avoid this and the risk of an unsuitable choice being made in an impure state of mind, I have been placing on the

[1] This message was conveyed in a letter dated June 24, 1934 from Prabhavati to Narandas Gandhi.

parents the responsibility of making preliminary enquiries and selection. So far there has been no disadvantage in this method. Two sons of mine got married when they were around thirty. The brides of both were chosen by me in the first instance. And in the case of Devdas the initial choice was certainly his but as soon as the idea came to him he voluntarily confided in [me] and Rajagopalachari and made a proper and successful effort to satisfy us. When marriages are contracted by adults the fear of courtship is always there. This is a part of dharma itself and dharma literally means the choice between good and evil that a man has to make every moment. Your question implies another, that of co-education. I have doubts about girls and boys studying together, I have not yet formed any decisive opinion. As our experiment is only in its primary stage mistakes are bound to occur and imperfections there are. But the experiment is worth a trial. On the whole it appears to be worth while though we have had quite a few bitter experiences too. If you have anything more to ask in this connection, do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3148

121. SPEECH AT DISTRICT LOCAL BOARD MEETING, POONA[1]

June 24, 1934

Gandhiji congratulated the Board on their work,[2] but wanted them to insist on quality. He was confident that the economic distress among Harijans and insanitation in Harijan quarters would speedily vanish, if only Local Boards and Municipalities satisfactorily discharged their duties towards Harijans. They must see that the Harijan children were properly taught in the preparatory schools, and teaching in their case meant at first not the three R's so much as keeping their persons and clothes clean. They would do well to institute prizes to be won by teachers who best attended to their Harijan pupils. Then, again, Harijans were often not allowed to draw water from public wells, though they were legally entitled to do so. Wherever such was the case, they must help them to exercise their undoubted rights

[1] This and the following two items have been extracted from "Weekly Letter".

[2] The District Local Board presented Gandhiji with an address in which they had given an account of the Harijan service they were rendering.

and, in the mean while, not leave them without water but construct special wells for them.

Harijan, 6-7-1934

122. INTERVIEW TO HARIJAN WORKERS

POONA,
June 24, 1934

Gandhiji was with over 100 workers for one and a half hours and answered all sorts of questions with his usual patience The central point of his answers was that the workers should settle in the villages and work both among *savarna* Hindus and Harijans

A Harijan asked if it was right to encourage Harijan boys to become B.A.s or M A.s, when unemployment was rife among graduates, and whether it would not be better if they took to technical education Gandhiji replied that they could hardly expect Harijans to go in for industrial education before it had successfully appealed to the *savarnas* And it was possible that, even if mere academic training was now no good for *savarnas*, it had its own value for Harijans. For instance, he had long thought Dr Ambedkar to be a Brahmin. He was equal in intelligence and ability to the tallest among us Such distinction had its undoubted use for Harijans. Gandhiji himself fully believed in industrial education and wished the numerous Harijan students would turn their attention to it Harijan Sevak Sanghs could not force Harijans to such education. They had to encourage the academical side by side with the industrial It was for the Harijans to preach the gospel of industrial training. He hoped Harijans would study the life and work of Booker T Washington[1], whom he looked upon as one of the great men of the world, and draw their inspiration from it

As regards housing Harijans, Gandhiji said that perhaps there was not much to do in the case of village Harijans, and, as for city-dwelling Harijans, it was the duty of Municipalities to provide housing facilities for them; it was too big a proposition for the Harijan Sevak Sangh The Municipalities if they were efficient and mindful of their duty, could solve the problem with very little expenditure.

On being asked how Harijans could assert their right to draw water from public wells, Gandhiji said they should, if necessary, seek police aid and the protection of courts of law for the purpose.

Harijan, 6-7-1934

[1] 1856-1915; American Negro educator who was born a slave; founded the Tuskegee Institute for the training of Negroes in trades and professions.

123. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, POONA

June 24, 1934

The public meeting in the evening was a remarkable function Deputations from the various districts of Maharashtra presented Gandhiji with their respective purses, and then Gandhiji asked Shri Shankarrao Lavate, the well-known veteran public worker of Poona, who had come as a representative of the sanatanist opposition, to address the meeting. Shri Lavate said that he and his sanatanist colleagues desired removal of untouchability no less than Gandhiji himself, but they objected to legislation affecting the Hindu community as a whole being passed with the help of the votes of the Government as well as other communities.

Gandhiji congratulated Shri Lavate on his courtesy and extreme moderation and was sorry that the audience should have betrayed any imaptience while he was addressing them, whereas etiquette required that they should hear speakers patiently and not interrupt them while they were speaking. Shri Lavate was a seasoned public worker. When he came to Poona in 1915, he was told that, if there was any true servant of the public in Poona, it was certainly Shri Lavate. When he saw him, he was put in mind of the *rishis* of old. Everyone was aware of his services in the cause of prohibition. His regard for him was as profound as ever, though for the moment he happened to be arrayed in opposition to himself, and he was not so simple as not to give due consideration to the views of men like Shri Lavate. But he was afraid that Shri Lavate was labouring under a misunderstanding. In the course of the present tour, he had not only not canvassed votes for the Temple-entry Bill, but he had hardly ever referred to it at all, for he believed it was a technical problem which should be left for the lawyers to grapple with. He was certain that it was their duty to secure the passage of the Bill, as untouchability could not be abolished without flinging the temples open to Harijans. But he did not want the Bill to be placed on the statute book, unless a majority of the Hindu members of the Assembly were in favour of it. It would be sheer violence to get the Bill passed with the help of the Muslim or Christian votes. He assured Shri Lavate and the other sanatanist friends that their fears were groundless. He would be very glad, indeed, if the sanatanists in Poona could join the movement. *Savarna* Hindus in villages have been reported to compel Harijans to eat carrion and carry dead cattle against their will, and assault them if they dared to exercise their common right of drawing water from public wells. Why could not all join hands in dealing with such violent conduct? Not one *shastri* had quot-

ed a single verse in support of such untouchability. He claimed to follow the Shastras as he knew them. He ever asked God to give him courage to die for Truth as he knew it. It was, therefore, that he called himself a sanatanist.

Harijan, 6-7-1934

124. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

"PARNAKUTI", POONA,
[On or before *June 25, 1934*][1]

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I tried my best but couldn't write to you during the whole of the last week. Hoping that I would be able to write, I kept back even the girls' letters.

Even today I am writing under great pressure. If I had sufficient time, I would fill pages. But now please be satisfied with what I can give.

I will go on doing all I can for Chandubhai. I will leave nothing undone. I am going to Gujarat only because it was necessary to tour it. Since I am going, I must collect for the Harijan Fund. You must have read about the decision I have announced. Merely watch for the present what is happening. Who knows what is for good and what for ill? All that we can hope for is that we shall always do what we think is for the best. I think what is happening is really for the best.

I hear that you have not been keeping well for some time, Do everything possible and improve your health. If necessary, ask for outside doctors to be called in. As you know, even a mother doesn't serve unless the child asks for what it wants. Ask for anything which you are entitled to and get the nostrils cured.

I am afraid you may not have liked the resolution which was passed this time. I see nothing but good in it. Big Brother[2] came and saw me. Let us see what happens now. There is such an infinite number of dust particles in the air that nobody can cleanse the air of them all. We may do the best we can and not worry about the result. Cling to the principle that it is futile, even harmful, to think from there about what is happening outside and let not your peace of mind be disturbed.

Khurshedbehn and two other ladies are here. The former suffered much (in jail). Her health is better now. She is pining to go to the Frontier Province.

[1] The source has "June 27". But Gandhiji had left Poona on June 25.
[2] Madan Mohan Malaviya

The assault on Parikshit is not a trivial matter for me. That there has been hardly any protest against it seems more terrible to me than the fact of the assault itself.

Ba has joined me. Her health is fairly good. She is quite happy.

Kanti is with Devdas. He is studying. His aspirations are noble indeed.

Velanbehn and Anandi are with me. My party has become quite a large one these days. I am thinking now whom I can send away. Bablo is with Jivanji.

. . .[1] has turned out to be a worthless man. He has again been guilty of the same kind of lapse, but he doesn't seem to have realized its seriousness. I have now advised him to go to Rajkot. Narandas will stay there for the present. . . .[2] should stay there and do what he can. He has forfeited Jamnalalji's trust. He doesn't seem even to have kept the accounts properly.

Radha (Gandhi) has joined Prof. Karve's school. I didn't know about this at all. She arranged the business herself. She came and saw me yesterday. I couldn't give her much time, though. Here also I get very little free time.

Swami is here. Rajaji also. Jamnalal left for Bombay only yesterday. . . .[3] was fairly seriously ill in Abu and is here now. He has come to discuss the arrangements with me. Swami will have to return to Bihar.

You must have read the news about Mirabehn. There is nothing more behind it. She suddenly felt that she herself should go and do something. I consented and she left.[4] Her personality had become suppressed under me. I hope she will regain her former independence of character. She has gone only for three or four months. She had been to [Bombay] to acquaint Maxwell[5] with the condition of ordinary prisoners—to describe her own experiences.

I met Ambalal Sarabhai. Saraladevi has benefited considerably.

This is enough for today. I wrote this letter in the morning in 'Parnakuti'. We are now going to Bhamburda[6].

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 106-8

[1], [2] & [3] The names are omitted in the source.
[4] *Vide* p. 94.
[5] Home Secretary, Government of Bombay
[6] A locality in Poona, now known as Shivajinagar

125. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

[On before or *June 25,*][1] *1934*

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

What more can I have to write about after such a long letter from Ba? Since you two like the name Arunkumar, my approval also may be assumed. From the long list sent by Nanabhai, 'Govind' seems worth selecting. I don't have time, either, to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have to reply to one question by you two. My point was that, since civil disobedience has been suspended, you should prepare yourselves for it thoroughly and keep yourselves ready to join it whenever it is revived. You can sacrifice yourselves in it only if you cultivate austerity, simplicity, self-control, etc.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4821

126. LETTER TO PREMI JAIRAMDAS

June 25, 1934

DEAR PREMI,

If you want congratulations for having passed your examination you can have them. Why will you only see me at the station? Surely Father will go with me to Karachi. Then why not you? What about your Hindi?

Love.

BAPU

SHRI PREMIBEHN JAIRAMDAS
MARKET ROAD, HYDERABAD
SIND

From the original: C.W. 9247. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Nanabhai I. Mashruwala", p. 107.

127. LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

June 25, 1934

BHAI NANABHAI,

I had received your letter. I selected 'Govind' from the list of names which you had sent. But I cannot press for its acceptance. I have written to Manilal and Sushila and sent the suggestion to them.

I would be happy to hear that you are improving.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6691. Also C.W. 4336. Courtesy: Kanubhai N. Mashruwala

128. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

June 25, 1934

CHI. RAIHANA,

I am in a hurry today, and so I am writing in Gujarati. I have taken an extract from your letter for *Harijan*. I hope Harivadan and Hamida have now regained their balance of mind. Jail is not meant for those who find jail life a pleasure. One must be able to live the same kind of life outside also and to devote oneself to constructive work. I hope you are very well. My regards to Father and Mother. Saroj sees me every day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9649

129. STATEMENT ON BOMB INCIDENT[1]

POONA,
June 25, 1934

I have had so many narrow escapes in my life that this newest one does not surprise me. God be thanked that no one was fatally injured by the bomb, and I hope that those who were more or less seriously injured, will be soon discharged from hospital.[2]

I cannot believe that any sane sanatanist could ever encourage the insane act that was perpetrated this evening. But I would like sanatanist friends to control the language that is being used by speakers and writers claiming to speak on their behalf. The sorrowful incident has undoubtedly advanced the Harijan cause. It is easy to see that causes prosper by the martyrdom of those who stand for them. I am not aching for martyrdom, but if it comes in my way in the prosecution of what I consider to be the supreme duty in defence of the faith I hold in common with millions of Hindus, I shall have well earned it, and it will be possible for the historian of the future to say that the vow I had taken before Harijans that I would, if need be, die in the attempt to remove untouchability was literally fulfilled.

Let those who grudge me what yet remains to me of this earthly existence know that it is the easiest thing to do away with my body. Why then put in jeopardy many innocent lives in order to take mine which they hold to be sinful? What would the world have said of us if the bomb had dropped on me and the party, which included my wife and three girls, who are as dear to me as daughters and are entrusted to me by their parents? I am sure that no harm to them could have been intended by the bomb-thrower.

[1] A bomb was thrown on what the assailant believed was the car carrying Gandhiji on his way to the Municipal Building. Gandhiji arrived at 7.30 p.m. little knowing what had occurred. When informed of the incident, he received the news calmly and agreed to the suggestion that the programme should be carried out. Accordingly the address was presented and Gandhiji left the hall at 8.30 p.m. This appeared under the title "Providence Again".

[2] This paragraph has been reproduced from *The Hindu*, 26-6-1934.

I have nothing but deep pity for the unknown thrower of the bomb. If I had my way and if the bomb-thrower was known, I should certainly ask for his discharge, even as I did in South Africa in the case of those who successfully assaulted me.[1] Let the reformers not be incensed against the bomb-thrower or those who may be behind him. What I should like them to do is to redouble their efforts to rid the country of the deadly evil of untouchability.

Harijan, 29-6-1934

130. APPEAL FOR FUNDS FOR DR. DINSHAW MEHTA

June 26, 1934

I have had the kindest service from Shri Dinshaw Mehta and his staff during my 21 days' fast[2] and after. It was all voluntary labour. I believe him to be a sincere lover of his profession. He has passion for naturopathy. Being myself a believer in natural and simple remedies I am deeply interested in his experiments. He is at present in financial difficulty. The friend who has hitherto supported him liberally is unable to do so much longer. His minimum expenses are in round figure Rs. 3,000 per month. His loss is half that amount. He therefore wishes to make public appeal for funds. If the help forthcoming is large enough he would use the fund as an endowment. He keeps accounts which are open to inspection.

I gladly support the appeal and hope that it will meet with success.

From a microfilm: Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

131. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[3]

BOMBAY,
June 26, 1934

No amount of violence intended to be done to me can possibly stop me from pursuing action which I consider to be wholly good.

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 93-7.
[2] From May 8 to 28, 1933; *vide* Vol. LV.
[3] Held in the morning on his arrival from Poona *en route* to Ahmedabad

Gandhiji was quite unperturbed by last night's bomb incident in Poona, and dictated the interview to the Associated Press in his usual manner, cracking jokes frequently. He continued:

After all, what is happening in the case of untouchability is but a repetition of history. No reform worth the name has ever been accomplished without the reformer holding his life as a stake for his or her cause. If the Moloch of untouchability takes one life, it may be regarded as easy satisfaction. An age-long evil masquerading in the name of virtue cannot be removed without an adequate measure of sacrifice. I am a believer in the all-powerfulness of God. So long as He wants me in the present body for the cause, He will protect me from all harm, and when it has no use for Him not all the protection that earthly power can give me will be of the slightest avail.

Q. Do you think the opposition of sanatanists put up against the idea of presenting an address to you and the throwing of the bomb are indications that sanatanists are taking to violence?

GANDHIJI: I am not going to say that sanatanists indulge in violence because one person parading in the name of sanatanists wanted to do violence. I am not yet persuaded that sanatanists have organized themselves to oppose my activities by resorting to actual physical violence.

Q. Do you think activities carried on in Poona, Bihar and Orissa are an indication that sanatanist opposition to your anti-untouchability campaign is taking the shape of violence?

GANDHIJI: I am quite willing to admit that the activities that are carried on in Poona and elsewhere have influenced some excitable youths against me. When I returned to India in 1915, I had prophesied that if the bomb found a habitation in this land, no matter what the cause was, it would not be restricted to that cause alone. That prophecy has more than once proved to be true. I would like further, at this juncture, to drive the truth home that if we are following violence in thought and word, it must some day or other assume concrete form, and it is not capable of being restricted to what one may call a good cause alone.

It is absolutely wrong to say that if the motive is pure, the means are justified whatever they be. For realizing pure end means must be pure too.[1]

[1] This paragraph has been translated from *Harijanbandhu*, 1-7-1934.

Replying to a question as to what he thought was the reaction to the Working Committee resolution on the Communal Award and the subsequent events, he said.

I do not fear any split in Congress ranks.

Beyond this cryptic remark, the Mahatma refused to be drawn into any further discussion about the political situation.

The Hindu, 26-6-1934; also *Harijanbandhu*, 1-7-1934

132. SPEECH AT BARODA[1]

June 26, 1934

Gandhiji, addressing the huge gathering, thanked the public of Baroda for presenting the purse of Rs. 1,000 for Harijan uplift

I would rather wish that the Baroda people should contribute first to the fund of the distressed peasants of Gujarat started by Dr. Chandulal Desai and others and then as a bounden duty to remove the slur of untouchability, they should contribute to the Harijan Fund. I regret that I cannot stay here, tired and exhausted. The Maharaja Saheb Gaekwar has done a good deal for the uplift of Harijans and it is a slur on the Baroda public that the Secretary of the Gujarat Harijan Sevak Sangh Mr. Parikshitlal Majmudar is roughly handled by the police of a small village of the State. I would urge all present to remove the slur of untouchability.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-6-1934

133. MESSAGE TO THE PUNJAB

[Before *June 27, 1934*][2]

I hope the people of the Punjab will generously subscribe to the Harijan purse.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-6-1934

[1] Organized by the local Harijan Sevak Sangh, the meeting was held at the railway station.

[2] The message was published under the date-line, "Lahore, June 27".

134. DISCUSSION WITH HARIJAN WORKERS[1]

AHMEDABAD,
June 27, 1934

Every worker placed before Gandhiji the work done so far in one's own district. They also acquainted Gandhiji with manifold difficulties that beset their path in doing Harijan work, especially in villages. They also told him that digging wells for Harijans was a great problem and suggested that some special fund should be collected for the purpose.

Gandhiji did not like that a special fund should be collected for digging wells. They must scrutinize each application for a well, for it was their duty to give them water and all facilities possible. They must also accept whatever help was given them by sanatanists in any form. Their sole duty ought to make Harijans self-contained. Gandhiji said that they must work in villages and incessant propaganda would remove whatever obstacles lay in their way.

In reply to a question Gandhiji said that if the Harijan work of a particular village was not done by the Harijan Sevak Sangh or by its members actively, they must do it themselves, even as Government do the work of a Municipality if the latter does not do its function properly.

The number of reformers is daily increasing and the heart of people is also undergoing change towards their treatment to Harijans.

> Sjt. Parikshitlal Majmudar . . . narrated the difficulties they were experiencing in their work of organizing wells for Harijans and the problems of collecting funds.
>
> Gandhiji said that if they were earnest in their work, they could easily get funds.
>
> In replying to a question of Sjt. Thakkar Bapa that organizing separate wells for Harijans was considered by some people as tantamount to perpetuating untouchability, Gandhiji said that it was not necessarily so, but in any case they cannot allow Harijans to die for want of water.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-6-1934

[1] Of Gujarat and Kathiawar

135. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, AHMEDABAD[1]

June 27, 1934

It is an auspicious thing for me that my public work in Ahmedabad in the Harijan cause begins with a women's meeting. At many women's meetings and some men's meetings I have said, whenever I thought necessary, that not only in India but all over the world, religion has been and will be safeguarded by women. It was not, and is not, my intention to say that women have safeguarded religion by writing big treatises or delivering lectures. They have rather safeguarded religion by their actions. No religion has been propagated through lectures or books. We regard certain books as religious books; but they are a propagation of the thoughts and deeds of virtuous men and women. A work that is not backed by virtuous conduct, however beautiful the thoughts may be, cannot make a religious treatise. Nor can it bring us the peace that the scriptures do. When a confirmed liar says, 'Speak the truth', he fails to make any impression, although no one may have known that he ever uttered a lie. But the act of a person who is persistent in his virtuous ways is bound to bear fruit even if he is completely silent about it. If a live seed is sown in fertile soil, it is bound to sprout. The same is true about the words in religious books. I have said after due thought that women have done most to safeguard religion. Women's capacity for sacrifice, suffering and patience cannot be found in man. This can be attributed to many causes. It is unnecessary to go into them here. But the world believes what I have said. That is why I am happy that my work here has begun with this function.

If you are convinced that untouchability is a social sin, you must strive hard to free yourself from that sin. It is not enough that someone like me should go round and collect funds. Behind my effort is the hope that I should be able to appeal to the hearts of women. It is only when this happens that I would be able to complete my work. The work would be partly done if I can appeal to the hearts of men. I went to give my

[1] Held in the Krishna Cinema under the auspices of seven women's associations

condolences to Lady Lakshmibai in Bombay. What condolences could I give to her? I stressed only one point. I told her: 'Give up your mourning and come out of the house. Mourning will bring no credit, but Harijan work will bring credit to your widowhood.'

Lakshmibai has worked for the eradication of untouchability. So, she told me: "You men may say anything. But can you do anything if we are obstinate?" I had to plead guilty. "I know it by experience"—she added: "What would you do if a woman does not obey you—a husband or father? We women know only to say no. And, are you men going to be in the house for all the twenty-four hours? You may instruct us to do something and go out; but how would you know later if we did not carry it out?" What she said was absolutely true. That is why I say that my work can be carried out only if I appeal to the hearts of women. Men tell me: "We do wish to give up untouchability. But do you wish to create domestic quarrels? We are willing to have Harijans in our houses. But what can we do if those who are in the house for all the twenty-four hours would not allow them?" So, if women realize that untouchability is a sin and has to be wiped out, men would not be able to hold fast to it. It is beyond the powers of men. This is the experience of most men.

That is why I want to firmly impress upon you women, that let any number of Brahmins and astrologers talk to you, you should firmly bear in mind that if you are good mothers, you would not discriminate between one child and another. On the contrary, you would shower more affection on a dull, stupid and crippled child. I have never known a mother who would cast off a stupid child and lavish her affection on an intelligent child. Such a mother, if there is one, should be scorned. At least I would do that. A mother is bound to show more affection for her handicapped child. If we men and women who are images of clay have such sense of justice regarding our children and pay more attention to the crippled, how would God, who has created us, who is our Father, who is Father of all fathers, who is the Father of the universe, the Creator of the entire living world, have a different sense of justice? My reason does not accept that it is God's will that the Harijans should be boycotted, that they should not be allowed to take water from wells and tanks, that they should not be allowed to enter temples, and that temples would be defiled if they entered them, and any fruit or bread, if touched by them, should be thrown away.

This is sheer superstition. We do not find such a thing in Islam or Christianity. Only Hinduism has specialized in regarding these people as worse than animals. We give good water and food to cows and buffaloes, but to these people we give only our left-over food, and that too, we throw at them from a distance for fear of touching them. We do not feel ashamed of doing so. We believe that those people are born to be so treated.

This is such an obvious thing that we can easily see it if we wish to. Those who consider themselves sanatanists do not let us step in at all. They tell us that the untouchables are untouchables by birth and we would incur sin by touching them. I do not wish to say that such a thing is not to be found anywhere else in the world. Such a thing exists even in America; but there is no pretence of religion about it. My complaint against the Hindu men and women is that they indulge in such a thing in the name of religion. If you tell me that it is *adharma* to touch a Harijan, I would ask, 'From where did you get the idea?' I have not come across a single *shastri* who has established on the testimony of the Shastras that untouchability as practised today ever existed before. I have studied our scriptures fairly well and have found in them no mention of untouchability as it is practised today. I do not wish to discuss what sort of untouchability has a place in the Shastras. I say that this untouchability of today should be wiped out. Once we realize that it is sheer injustice, it is *adharma*, we shall be able to bring about her quickly all the reforms we desire.

I have dealt with these things to indicate what I expect from you. You must study this subject. Do whatever is not beyond your capacity. Serving the Harijan when the time arises is within the capacity of everyone. It is not enough to give money for them. We must believe that they are not untouchables but are just like us. Had they been untouchables by birth, instead of two eyes they would be having three eyes or one ear instead of two, or God would have put some such mark on them. But God has not given them any such mark. If there is a Harijan girl in our midst, we would not be able to make her out at first sight from others.

Anyone who does not consider untouchability a sin need not put even a cowrie into this bag. He who considers it a sin should give whatever he can and make expiation. We would know that a particular lady has put a coin in the bag and the following day we would take some service from her. You have shown your sympathy by parting with a coin. It may as well

be said that you have given your co-operation. Later when you meet women in your neighbourhood they would perhaps abuse you and be rude to you, but face it and tell them that what they are doing is not dharma but *adharma*.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 15-7-1934

136. LETTER TO GULABCHAND JAIN

June 28, 1934

BHAI GULABCHAND,

What you have written is true.

The only remedy is that those who violate the rule should wear khadi or the rule itself should be scrapped.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N 7742

137. DISCUSSION WITH GUJARAT SWADESHI SANGH WORKERS[1]

AHMEDABAD,
June 28, 1934

For the purpose of this Institution (All-India Swadeshi Sangh), swadeshi shall cover useful articles wholly manufactured in this country, through small industries which require for their existence continuous education of public opinion in their favour, and which will accept directions issued by the Board of this institution, as to the price of articles manufactured by them, and wages and welfare of the labour under their control. Such swadeshi will, therefore, exclude articles manufactured through large and organized industries which are able to take care of themselves and which can command State protection without popular aid.[2]

[1] At the Harijan Ashram (Satyagraha Ashram), Sabarmati

[2] The source had reported: "This definition was found by some of the workers as not entirely practicable, and the Gujarat Swadeshi Sangh suggest a change in the definition which should be: 'Goods which are manufactured in India in all its stages, and under the direction of the Management with labour and capital 75 per cent Indian, with Indian material as far as possible, shall be considered as swadeshi. But in manufacture of goods, yarn—cotton, silk and woollen— should necessarily be Indian.' " *Vide* also pp. 87-9.

Explaining his definition Gandhiji said that his definition was such as required no change. He said that the lines on which swadeshi movement is conducted at present has made us voluntary agents of big manufactures, and this has resulted in their neglecting home industries

Gandhiji was therefore of the opinion that big manufactures do not require any stimulus from them and his definition was framed with a view to removing unemployment.

In reply to a question whether raw material which could not be procured from India should be imported or not, Gandhiji replied in the affirmative and said he would certainly ask to import such raw materials as are not available in India.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-6-1934

138. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 29, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

Nothing more beyond sending you a cart-load of love. Butow I am sorry to tell you has just now proved a broken reed.

BAPU

From the original: C W. 6288. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9754

139. SPEECH AT MILL-HANDS' MEETING, AHMEDABAD

June 29, 1934

After a long time I have been able to meet you in such large numbers and for this I am grateful to God and consider myself fortunate. I thank you for the address which has just been read out and for the purse of Rs. 5001 for the Harijan work. You have stated the truth [in your address] that you are quite well off compared to other Harijans. You have some money and gradually you are getting more and more educational facilities. There are other Harijans who are considered lower than those who have contributed to this fund which means that there exists untouchability within untouchability. I congratulate you on admitting that you have given this money as an atonement for that sin. But please do not you believe that having atoned and having given this purse, you have acquired a right to consider yourselves superior and regard other Hari-

jans as lower than you? There are some people who are found atoning for their sins in this manner. There are many who believe that once they visit the temple and offer rice, betel-nut and money, they are entitled to commit sins. There are also people who believe that sins can be committed and atoned for daily just as clothes get dirty every day and are washed daily. It is therefore wrong if you have given these five thousand rupees as a passport for committing sin. One who makes atonement should not consider others lower than himself. I will show you an easy way of putting this in practice. One must consider oneself lowest [in the world], that is to say that there can be no one lower than oneself. We are ultimately bound to suffer degradation if we consider ourselves higher than others and this would mean that we have not done away with untouchability. Those who have given money should make their atonement complete by removing the feeling of high and low among the sub-castes like sweepers, scavengers, tanners, etc. The caste Hindus who consider themselves higher than others, are also responsible. It is because they preached untouchability that it has spread to every home. It is only when we ourselves get rid of the feelings of high and low, that we shall be able to do away with whatever ill-feeling there is between the various communities and religions. The reasons for the bitterness among the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, etc., are not to be found outside, but can be traced to the feeling of high and low and the sense of exclusiveness prevailing among them. The leaves of a tree, even though separate, are all the same. They are not different; similarly, even if we differed in our thoughts and beliefs, different views do not matter if there is no exclusiveness, no feeling of high and low. The campaign for the ending of untouchability is intended to bring this home to all.

Here, the trade union workers have been working very hard for your sake. They think about your comforts night and day. I do not find anywhere else the activities which I find in Ahmedabad. It is true that I have not stayed long in other places. No sooner I reach a place than I leave it for another. I have not been able to identify myself with activities elsewhere as I have been able to do with yours. It is possible that your activities appear great to me because I know all about them. I believe that the labour-welfare activity in Ahmedabad is the best of all. But do you take any advantage of it? If not, it is as good as wasted. I have just returned from Kalyangram. The

houses there are beautiful and clean. Their alleys and courtyards are also clean. I have never stayed in a house cleaner than theirs; nor do I stay in one. I had not expected more than what I found. [But if you are not careful] you will undo all that has been done. If, in spite of living in good houses, we neglected our body, our soul which dwells in it for all the twenty-four hours is sure to be ruined. And then, what use can we make of solid brick-houses? For a long time I have had a quarrel with you over giving up liquor. Yet, all of you have not given it up. If we look at the history of the liquor-shops, it would be known that the most frequent visitors are the industrial workers. They spend too much and then face financial difficulties. They spend money to lose their senses. A drunkard behaves like a mad man, he becomes a lunatic. You must therefore get over this thing.

Many Harijans eat carrion. Here you cannot justify it. Here you get ghee, milk and vegetables. In spite of that you eat carrion. How shameful it is! Nowhere in the world can one eat carrion and yet be considered civilized. You are considered civilized. The ancient Hindu dharma is yours. How can you be so barbaric? It is not proper for you to squander money. You must educate your children. You have a long way to go. You and your children must eat nourishing food. Children cannot do without milk. You should not fee satisfied by giving them gruel. Children can never be brought up that way. Use your money where the need is real. You would be rewarded. The children would be healthy and strong, they would be good and would earn more. They would be happy themselves and so would you be. You would have added to the wealth of India and the world. Learn to make different kinds of [useful] things. Who would then dare to insult you by looking upon you as Harijans, or untouchables? I have said that all troubles would be ended if the Harijans really become men of God, acquire qualities befitting their name. A person like me would have to qualify himself to become a Harijan. Let the caste Hindus also become Harijans. In this *yajna* of purification the caste Hindus have to be reformed. They have to do penance. You too have a contribution to make. You have to get rid of your bad habits. Keep your houses clean. Sunshine and light are necessary both for body and mind. Do not pollute the air. Keep your houses, courtyards and alleys clean. I was glad to see that you have planted trees in front of your houses. These houses will be yours ultimately. You acquire more and more ownership over the houses with every payment of periodical

rent. If you save money and pay rent, the houses will be yours after a specified time—there is a scheme to that effect.

I congratulate you on presenting a hand-written address to me. A printed sheet has been distributed here which you must read. The communist friends have criticized me in it. I can only say that it is written out of misunderstanding. If those on whose behalf this leaflet has been issued examine it, they would find that what is stated there is not correct. It says that I am a friend of capitalists. But my activities do not include the exploitation of labourers by capitalists. I have become a labourer ever since my stay in South Africa. . . .[1]

The first question of this friend is: What did I do when the labourers at Bombay, Sholapur, Kanpur and other places were in trouble? What did I do when there was firing on the workers in Bombay? I must reply to this question. I am not God. I am a labourer like you. Regarding your question as to what I did for the labourers I can only say that I employed a part of my capacity for the benefit of labourers. If I possess greater powers as a human being, I am willing to put them to use. Previously in Bombay I had a talk with the workers. I did that even this time. On the occasion to which this friend has referred, I had prevailed upon the labourers who had come and told me of their requirements that I must at least know why they needed money. I can only advise them. I have no power to carry out all my wishes. I must know the cause of the strike. If the workers are suffering due to some fault of theirs, the remedy is that they should set their own house in order. All my life I have done nothing without knowing why. I do not have any money of my own. I have to ask others for it. Hence, I must know the purpose for which money is needed. I have tried to reach the workers everywhere. I have talked to workers who have come to me. Even at Nagpur where the strike was going on, labour leaders met me.

This friend has asked me what I had done about the Government action in the matter. I do not say anything on the activities of the Government. You would certainly not expect me to break my vow. For this year I have chalked out for myself the programme of Harijan work. That is why I talk about the Harijan work, and that too, without criticizing Gov-

[1] At this point the writer of the leaflet was permitted to speak and he said that Gandhiji had done nothing for the workers when they had gone on strike at Bombay, Sholapur, Kanpur, etc. All that Gandhiji tried to do was to isolate labourers from Harijans.

ernment policies. I must abide by the pledge I have taken. The pledge has not been taken keeping you or the Government as witness but with God as witness. I am like a person inside a prison. And so, I can pursue one activity alone. Except on this I must observe silence. I am now doing the work which I could have done from the prison. That is the reason why I do not wish to say anything about the Government policies. If I did that I would be violating my pledge.

I cannot spare enough time from Harijan work to read newspapers or study other activities. I have no quarrel with the communists. At the most I can have a difference of opinion. Nevertheless, I wish I can explain to them my view and win them over. Wherever there is a difference of opinion, they are welcome to have their own view. Similarly, they have to permit me to have mine. Maybe, they will win me over some day. I have been serving the working class for the past fifty years. Throughout I have had only one aim. Though I have associations and friendship with the capitalists, I work in the interest of the working class. I believe the workers would gain nothing by liquidating the capitalists. It is not my intention to persuade the workers to follow the path of the capitalists. In a sense, even the workers are capitalists. Why should they believe that money alone and not labour is an asset. Capital is formed only through the working class. Money has no value in the desert of Sahara. One cannot get water there without one's own labour. There a labourer is a capitalist. The workers are as good as capitalists if they are organized and are intelligent. Capital consists in money for one and labour for the other. People do not know how to use and accumulate capital. Crores of rupees lying scattered in several places will not make capital. It becomes capital only when it is pooled together and invested intelligently. The same applies to labour. A union of a lakh of workers who have intelligently come together can do much more than accumulated wealth. Those who realize this, will not be envious of capital in the form of money. They would ensure that the capital is properly utilized. At the moment there is rivalry between the two kinds of capital. Both the workers and the moneyed people are capitalists. Those people have organized themselves, whereas you have not been able to do so. Those people are clever and intelligent. When the workers are better organized and more self-sacrificing, their power would grow. You are not conscious of your strength and therefore you are oppressed. This causes harm to you and to the world at large.

I wish well to the workers. I believe that the workers can gain nothing for themselves by liquidating the capitalists.

If the capitalists are liquidated, we would be liquidated too. Both should unite in amity. We would need gold and silver bricks, too. The important thing is that we should know how to put all these to good use. This is the conflict between the proper and the improper use of capital. Both the classes will benefit if we learn how to make good use of capital. I cannot change this view of mine, for it is based on my experience of fifty years. You may do whatever you think is right, and in your interest.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 15-7-1934

140. SPEECH TO JYOTI SANGH[1] MEMBERS, AHMEDABAD

June 29, 1934

Asked for advice as to what the little girls in front of him should do, Gandhiji said that they must see the labourers' chawl in the Gujarat Cotton Mills and understand the life of labourers. They must enter into the Harijans' lives and reject sweets and finery for themselves, at least until the latter had sufficient food and decent clothing. Let the girls go into that dark world as light-bearers.

He would suggest that they must put on khadi, which was the only real swadeshi cloth. They must use things manufactured by millions and not by half a dozen people. And they must take to spinning, for, if millions of girls did it only for half an hour every day, they would add considerably to the wealth of the nation They need not wait for others to do this service, but must make a beginning themselves, in the faith that their numbers would swell later into thousands and millions

Harijans constituted the lowest strata or the foundation of society, and if they were neglected, society would topple down like a house of cards. On the other hand, if the foundation was well attended to, they need not worry much about the superstructure.

He was glad to note that the association was mainly run by women, typifying their desire not to accept any inferior or slavish position for

[1] An association of women started by Mridula Sarabhai and run mainly by women with a view to creating interest in public life among women and giving them training in home industries and crafts so as to increase their earning capacity. The speech is extracted from "Weekly Letter".

women. He hoped they had no intention of importing into India the movement for making women absolutely independent of men, which was out of keeping with Indian culture and was bound to do us untold harm. Socially men and women were inseparable members, one of another, supplying one another's deficiencies. Women were dubbed the 'weaker vessel', being physically weaker than men, but spiritually they were superior to men Men were proud of their brute force, but women need not mind their inferiority in that respect A muscular body and a great soul went ill together They must not confound real health with crude physical development. Women's inferiority complex only prevented them from going out alone fearlessly even at midnight, which they could do if they had the same fire of purity burning in their hearts as Sita had. If they realized this, they would concentrate on exercising their souls more than bodies and cultivate soul-force and courage rather than learn to use the dagger or the revolver, which would only furnish their enemy with a weapon. No one on earth could suppress anyone else Oneself was one's best friend or worst enemy He would certainly like them to take physical exercise, but his point was that it was useless in the absence of moral courage.

Harijan, 13-7-1934

141. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, AHMEDABAD

June 29, 1934

You have been able to collect from Ahmedabad nearly Rs. 32,000 for Harijan work. Out of this amount you have given me a *hundi* for Rs. 25,000. The accounts of the money received from other parts of Gujarat were read out to me. I have also heard that 1,289 pice have been received from Balubhai's school. The significance of that collection is that one girl student took an independent stand and said, "I shall not give even a pie." No one has spoken ill of that girl, nor criticized her. I would like to send my congratulations to that girl. I would not like to have even a single pice from those people who are not willing to regard untouchability as a sin and end it. Eradication of unouchability means change of heart on the part of the caste Hindus. If we can bring about that change of heart from this place by just praying to God, no money would be needed at all. And if it is needed it should come to us right at our doorstep. That is the law of nature or God. To bring it about we have to strive so hard and a person like me in old age has to go about from place to place—all this means that my capacity to pray is limited. I would have been able sitting at home to

convert the hearts of the caste Hindus, had my capacity to pray or in other words my personal purity been so great. But that is a state of perfection. We human beings are all imperfect. Hence, we have got to make efforts according to our capacity. In such an effort lies the key for attaining the state of perfection. We may be eager but not able to reach that state. That is why I have to influence you as best as I can by going round, giving talks and awakening your religious sense. Only that money which you have given under such influence, or by way of expiation, would bear fruit. It would serve no purpose if the caste Hindus have given the money for my imagined political services or out of a sense of obligation to the fund-raiser. Even a lakh of rupees given that way would bring no result. That is exactly why I congratulated that girl who did not contribute her pice. For the same reason I congratulate those who have not given money. Those who give me money even while cherishing the idea of untouchability in their hearts would be deceiving me. I would expect work from the people who give money and what a sad plight it would be if I don't get it!

This brings me to the contribution for the farmers. When the question came before me I sent word that I must go to Gujarat, and, if I did, I must raise the fund for Harijans. Contributions would be accepted only from those who give in a spirit of atonement. The persons seeking expiation will no doubt fulfil the other moral obligations which may come to them. Funds are urgently needed for the farmers. This obligation will not be always there. It is *apaddharma*[1] and an urgent one. First contribute for them as much as you can and then give to the Harijan fund. Let it be just a pice, I would be satisfied with it. If we convert the pice thus collected into rupees it would be a big amount. Such a contribution would be more valuable than this sum of Rs. 32,000. There is no limit to the Harijan Fund. If given in the spirit of atonement a crore of rupees would be welcome and equally so crores of pice. Otherwise, even a billion of rupees would be of no use.

Why should I not complain against Ahmedabad? I had settled in Ahmedabad. I have drunk deep of the affection of the citizens of Ahmedabad. And so, however much you do, I would always feel it is not enough. How wonderful it would be if all the mill-owners of Ahmedabad consider themselves the insurers for anything that may happen in Gujarat and they would

donate generously for any worthy cause or institution? From where would they give that money? If they decide to do so out of their earnings, we will never be in difficulty. The well-to-do people should never say that because there are many funds, they could not contribute to all of them. One can only wait for the auspicious day when the call comes. I do not know what is the mill-owners' contribution to this purse. I do not want to run them down. They do give but I want to squeeze more out of them. Though a fallen city now, Bombay has kept its reputation alive. Those who cannot get money from any place, get it from Bombay. The credit goes mainly to the Parsi community. Why should Ahmedabad not earn such a reputation? Why can't its pursestrings be loosened for the deserving? God will replenish the amount. That is what I wish to tell the mill-owners and the rich.

I cannot help mentioning a couple of things I noticed in the Harijan colony yesterday. What did I see there? On the one side, due to the efforts of the people of Ahmedabad, I saw a good chawl like Pritampara and on the other I saw the slums—which would beat the slums of Bombay and Poona. How strange that these things can persist in Ahmedabad after so much work has been done here? Ahmedabad is the city of Sardar. How can such a thing be allowed in Sardar's Ahmedabad? It is in the hands of the mill-owners. No human being can live in the chawl I visited, even then how do these labourers live? They do not live there like human beings but like animals, and even that at the cost of their health. He who lives at the cost of this health does not lead a human life. One who lives like a human being grows in his mind and soul. Harijans are not doing that. I appeal to the mill-owners, the Municipality and the citizens that they should not tolerate such conditions even for a moment. You will say that it is easier said than done. From the testimony of modern history we can say that there is nothing which cannot be attained by human effort. I cannot cite all the instances, but one I must. In the city of Johannesburg in South Africa, the plague broke out in the Location where our people were staying. Promptly the Location was locked up, police watchmen were posted and people were removed to a place thirteen miles away. There in a couple of days they set up a tented village on beautiful land, and all people were accommodated in it. The condition of that Location was better than this chawl. And yet, while describing it, I had called it hell. If that was hell, what I saw yesterday was a greater hell. After removing the people thirteen miles away from that Location, setting up shops there and providing other conveniences, the

Location was destroyed and all the things were burnt. Compensation was given to those whose belongings were burnt. I had even complained that the compensation was very little. Please do not tell me, 'Johannesburg is a mine of gold and where does Ahmedabad stand in comparison with it?' There are so many mills in Ahmedabad and the chawls I am speaking of belong to these mills. Money spent in it would be rewarded. We must resolve that the Harijans by whose labour we are able to maintain cleanliness in the houses and palaces leading a life of luxury should have at least for them not slums but well-ventilated and well-lit houses which are conducive to health. If enough citizens resolve, this work can be done in a week. I have told you how it can be done. There are so many men and women volunteers here. Doctors like Dr. Hariprasad have worked hard for the Ahmedabad Municipality. Even though he is in Ootacamund, he is thinking of this same problem. Balubhai has already told you this. He wrote to me too: 'I feel sorry that I am not there right now. I am going to do at least this much work.' He has now become the Chairman of the Sanitation Committee. Hence, I have now a right to demand work from him. Ahmedabad would be committing a great crime if we cannot keep the Harijans in good condition in spite of the favourable circumstances. In 1915 I went round with Mr. Ewbank to see these chawls. There is some improvement since then but it is just a drop in the ocean. There should not be a single person in Ahmedabad who would lose his health by living in unhealthy surroundings. If we can reach the most downtrodden classes of the society, we shall be able to reach the others.

There are some here who are considered expert sanatanists. There would be none among them who would say that he hesitates to do this work. I would not ask a single pice for this purse from those sanatanists who do not regard untouchability as a sin. But it does not mean that I would not take their money for the houses of the Harijans. If I take money from the Parsis, Muslims and Christians, why not from the sanatanists? I would not take any money for this purse from those Hindus who do not give it in the spirit of atonement but let them at least build chawls for the Harijans. Our scriptures do not tell us to keep the Harijans in the condition of animals. The scriptures give no evidence of the untouchability we observe today. A certain type of untouchability is observed all over the world. We would not touch a dirty man. But we have turned six crores of men into slaves. We have considered them untouchables

by birth. Where is the evidence for it in the sacred books? It is the dharma of all of us, the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis to see that no one in Ahmedabad is forced to live in unhealthy conditions. Go and visit for yourselves the places which I have seen. You will have to hold your handkerchiefs to your noses. You will have first-hand knowledge of the pitiable conditions in which the Harijans are living. I fail to understand how we have borne it so long. Do take up this matter in right earnest and deal with it immediately.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 15-7-1934

142. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

June 30, 1934

MY DEAR CHILD,

Though I often get up at 2 a.m. I do not overtake my correspondence. There is just time to send you a card of love on your birthday. I know I owe the box spinning-wheel to the children. My love and kisses to them. Mira felt the impulse all of a sudden and went.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI ESTHER MENON
BOURNE END
KODAIKANAL
S. INDIA

From a photostat: No. 129. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *My Dear Child*, p. 106

143. SPEECH AT MEETING OF CONGRESS SOCIALISTS, AHMEDABAD[1]

June 30, 1934

Gandhiji was questioned why he welcomed the formation of the Socialist Party within the Congress while objecting to its programme. Gandhiji replied that on examining the programme he found that certain items of the programme could be modified.

Regarding the question of class struggle, Gandhiji agreed that in the present stage of society class struggle did exist. If class struggle implied violence it was certainly against the Congress creed.

[1] At the Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati

Socialists retorted that they did accept non-violence out of political expediency.

Gandhiji had no objection to such an idea of non-violent class struggle, and he would support Congressmen participating in such a struggle.

Regarding the well-known Gandhi-Jawahar correspondence[1] they had fundamental difference between them. His agreement to a certain extent with the idea of divesting of vested interests did not mean confiscation of property.

Regarding the recent Bombay resolution of the Working Committee, Gandhiji said that it did not refer to *bona-fide* non-violent socialists, but to those who talk about violently overthrowing the present capitalist order and confiscation of property

Gandhiji admitted that the State must regulate the use of property in a wise and just manner. He visualized a State where such private profiteering inequities could not exist. Their programme should be educative and organizing of masses. Regarding their duties and rights and privileges, if this meant development of class consciousness Gandhiji would not fight shy of the term, if masses organize and take charge of State for the attainment of the socialism he had in view He would welcome such a consummation.

Gandhiji believed in true democracy based on functional adult franchise.

I would certainly be glad if Congress socialists gather strength and take over charge of the Congress.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-7-1934

144. LETTER TO S. D. SAKLATWALA

BHAVNAGAR,
July 1, 1934

DEAR MR. SAKLATWALA,

I thank you for your prompt reply dated 19th ultimo. Constant pressure of work has delayed acknowledgment. In the circumstances you mention, I shall not trouble you for further information at present.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI S. D. SAKLATWALA
C/o MESSRS TATA AND SONS
BOMBAY HOUSE
BOMBAY FORT

Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* Vol. LV, pp. 426-30 and Appendix XIV.

DURING HARIJAN TOUR, GUJARAT, JUNE 1934

WITH HARIJAN CHILDREN, BHAVNAGAR, JULY 1934



145. DISCUSSION WITH KATHIAWAR YOUTHS[1]

BHAVNAGAR,
July 1, 1934

Asked why he had not put up in Harijan Ashram, Gandhiji said he was at present out to convert *savarna* Hindus, and it was his duty not only to accept but even seek their invitations.

One of the young men questioned the propriety of Gandhiji taking such a large party with him on tour. Gandhiji is careful of the pennies and he is still more careful of the pounds. When he throws letters into the waste-paper basket, he is careful to save the pins and the blank half-sheets. And he is naturally still more punctilious when expenditure of large sums of money is in question He said some members of the party were travelling at their own expense, and the rest had their expenses paid by a friend. No charge whatever was made on the Harijan funds. Being a born teacher, he carried some friends with him to be trained as apprentices. He required the assistance of others in his own work, while still others were like the blind teats of the goat, which also he tried to milk as best he might. A Kathiawari Bania as he was, he might fairly be expected to account to himself for every pie he spent.

Referring to a description of himself in another question as a defeated General, Gandhiji said he did not know what it was to be defeated.

Questioned if he was opposed to *veth* (forced labour) and, if yes, what should be done to get it abolished, Gandhiji said his whole life had been dedicated to the purpose of doing away with *veth*—first in the family, then in South Africa and later on in the mother country. If *veth* was imposed on the poor, servants of the public must take it upon themselves.

Another question related to the menace of artificial methods of birth-control which has now invaded India. Gandhiji said that the national physique was half ruined as it was, and its ruin would be complete if they were foolish enough to copy such questionable practices.

Did they stand to lose anything if religion was destroyed, was one more poser. Gandhiji answered that religion was the foundation upon which the world edifice was supported, and it would be dashed to the ground if the foundation was undermined.

The last question was whether they should not abolish the institution of the States. Gandhiji said that as a satyagrahi he sought not to destroy

[1] This and the following item are extracted from "Weekly Letter".

but to transmute them into instruments of service There was nothing intrinsically bad about the institution itself[1]

Replying to other questions Gandhiji said that he had already established institutions wherein youths could work, but it was not his fault if they allowed themselves to die and that Kathiawari youths merely wanted to talk and did not want to do serious work If they were not satisfied with his programme of khadi and untouchability, he said they could better start new programmes and new institutions

I want to fight a non-violent battle. If you are interested you work with me or else find out a new programme for yourselves.

In answer to other questions, Gandhiji said he never believed that he was defeated in his fight. Had they ever heard a defeated man being welcomed in such a way and travelling at this old age for Harijan work with such zeal?

Harijan, 20-7-1934; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 3-7-1934

146. SPEECH TO HARIJANS, BHAVNAGAR

July 1, 1934

In the afternoon Gandhiji visited the Vankarvas near Ruvapari. This quarter is far from the city, so that the *vankars*[2] do not receive adequate police protection and are put to considerable inconvenience in the pursuit of their occupations, as well as in their dealings with the city. It has long been under contemplation to remove this quarter to a more commodious site, and it may be hoped that the matter would be expedited, and the removal carried out at an early date. The *vankars* should also be invested with occupancy rights in the land they built upon, so that they might no longer be liable to be shifted from place to place If a good locality is selected for Harijan quarters, Harijans will learn to observe the laws of cleanliness, as they will come in close contact with the *savarnas*. But the Harijans, too, owe a duty to themselves. If they give up liquor and carrion and keep their person, clothes and surroundings clean, they will help the reformer to break down the barrier which now divides them from the rest of the community.

Harijan, 20-7-1934

[1] What follows is reproduced from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

[2] Weavers

147. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BHAVNAGAR[1]

July 1, 1934

I thank you for the purse that you have given for Harijan work on behalf of Kathiawar. We have so very little faith in Harijan work, and especially in such work among Kathiawaris, that even the resolve to collect Rs. 25,000 seemed very big to you. You thought you would hardly be able to collect that much and, if you fell short, a few of you would add three or four thousand each and thus you hoped to collect Rs. 30,000 in all. That seems a very big amount to you and that is why you have applauded it. I am not much impressed. You must have thought poorly of the contributions from other cities of Kathiawar when the figures were read out to you. Only Rs. 203 from Wankaner? And that too was not from all the people. Only two or three persons had contributed that sum. The same is the case with Morvi. There are so many first-class States in Kathiawar, and innumerable other States too. Nor are Kathiawaris beggars. They are an enterprising people and are spread out in many parts. But those who approach them for contributions do so with diffidence, and, therefore, the others also feel disinclined to give. We rarely come across people who offer contributions on their own. What is Rs. 30,000 compared to the importance of Harijan work? It is true that even if we had collected three lakhs, money alone would not have been enough for eradicating untouchability. For that the hearts of caste Hindus have to be touched. Only then would that demon perish. Those who look upon untouchability as God cannot but worship it. It will perish in no time if the hearts of such people change. Its end is bound to come even in spite of them, but Hindu dharma or caste Hindus will not get credit for it. When Harijans themselves are so awakened that they would not tolerate their present condition even for a moment, untouchability is bound to disappear. But we shall not get credit for that. We have, therefore, to accomplish the Herculean task of humbly reasoning with those who worship untouchability and convincing them that it is no God but a demon. If we can do this much, we shall progress in our aim.

[1] This appeared under the title "Limits of Untouchability".

Wherever I go, I meet sanatanists and try to reason with them. I know that there are sanatanists in Bhavnagar too. There is nothing surprising in this. Can there be any place without sanatanists? I knew something about the sanatanists of Bhavnagar because a leaflet was published by them and some literature was sent to me too. I always tell the sanatanists to think over what I say. I will come to that point later. At the moment I wish to put forward the sanatanists' case before the reformers. If the latter believe that they are superior to the sanatanists because they had awakened while the sanatanists were still sunk in darkness, they would not be able to melt their hearts. I have good reason for saying this, for sanatanists have complained to me. They ask me: "Why should we come to you? If we came, reformist newspapers would hold us up for ridicule. They would distort what we might have said and put into our mouths statements we had never made. And if we do not come, we stand condemned. They will then say: 'See, they did not go. How could they go when they had no case?'" It is not that all newspapers are doing this, but there is some truth in what these people say. Some newspapers do misrepresent them. Reformers may feel, having cited a few verses from the *Manusmriti*, that they had scored a victory over the sanatanists, but victory cannot be won in this way. As we increasingly realize the greatness of the task, we should become ever more humble and should even feel greater respect for the sanatanists. Why feel respect for them, you will ask. A great many of them are hypocrites, and do evil in the name of religion. I have already referred to this at some places. But hypocrisy will always go on in the world. But neither I nor the reformers believe that every sanatanist is a hypocrite. Many of the sanatanists sincerely believe that untouchability as it is practised today should continue, otherwise there would be confusion of varnas. It is difficult for people to give up things which they have been practising for a long time. This is true of untouchability. Moreover, we have practised it as dharma. Hence I request the reformers not to malign sanatanists. Argue your case with them, but do not forsake gentleness, moderation and humility while doing so.

I want to put one important and simple point before the sanatanists. The sanatanist *shastris* have not been able to reply to my argument that untouchability in its modern form has no sanction in any Hindu Shastra. No one has justified it. Many sanatanists forget this term 'modern'. I had once occasion to discuss the problem with very learned *shastris*. They intentionally asked me about this word 'modern'. I said that some sort

of untouchability was practised all the world over and that we, too, had been observing it. We may not touch a dirty person or a man who was smelling of liquor. How can we touch him? If we tried, the foul smell from his mouth would throw us reeling back several feet away. This sort of untouchability can be practised even as between mother and son. But this modern form of untouchability is a demon with not twenty but a thousand arms. It keeps far away from us five to six crores of people. If you ask what this modern untouchability is, I would reply, if the President of your Municipality and Pattanisaheb would forgive me, that it is what we see in the Bhangi quarters of Bhavnagar. New quarters for them were to be built within three years. But Pattanisaheb told the Municipality today to demolish the old quarters and build new ones immediately, and offered Rs. 30,000 for the purpose. The President has agreed. I should not, therefore, criticize them. If, however, you wish to see modern untouchability, visit those quarters tomorrow morning. Go a little further also. You need not go anywhere outside Bhavnagar. Visit the weavers' quarters and see how they live. They were born untouchables and will remain so till their death! If in this State a weaver's son wants to study, he can do so and join a school or college. The State may even give him free education or the Harijan Sevak Sangh may help him, and after completing his studies he may be appointed a judge. But he would still remain an untouchable! We would go to him for justice, but we would take a bath if he happened to touch us. We deal out such perverted justice to six crores in the name of untouchability. Shall I show you still further what modern untouchability means? The *Manusmriti* does not define an 'untouchable'. Or let us say the Government's Census Report is our *Manusmriti* in this respect. You have decided those born untouchables will remain so all their life. But the Census Report says that there can be a change in their status. Every ten years when the census is made, a great many people cease to be untouchables and many others become untouchables. This is modern untouchability!

There may be some sanatanists here in this meeting. If they do not know the Shastras, let them go to others learned in them and tell them that I want them to show me if there is any sanction for modern untouchability in the Shastras. I do not say this out of pride. I have studied the Shastras and have found in them no sanction for untouchability. I am not a pandit. My knowledge of Sanskrit is very limited. I have to take the help of translations and commentaries. I, therefore, do not claim to be

learned in the Shastras. I cannot argue about their meanings. When I was asked to do so, I replied that I was a simple man and could not argue about the meanings of the Shastras, and that it was for them to explain them to me. I claim to be a votary of truth, and I wish to die trying to discover it, and pray to God to give me such strength. Such a man is telling you that you have no sanction for this modern form of untouchability in the Shastras. If anyone can show the contrary and if I feel that it is true, then I would readily admit it. I have written and explained a number of times how I interpret the meaning of the Shastras. If a teacher is not able to know the limitations of a student, or a man of knowledge those of an inquirer, then no heart-bond can be established between them. Sanatanists, therefore, should understand my limitations.

I have explained to the reformers how they should be gentle and humble towards the sanatanists, and I have asked the latter to understand what I am doing. There is also the bug-bear of temple-entry. I have not thrown open any temple without the consent of the public, and that too of the temple-going public. I did not include the votes of Arya Samajists, Harijans and those who did not believe in temples. I counted the votes only of those who visited temples with sincere faith and threw open the temples only after ascertaining their support. I have thrown open many temples in that manner and have received no complaints for having done so. I see nothing wrong in throwing open temples thus. So far as it lies in my power, I would not let a temple be thrown open if people going to that particular temple did not wish it and at present reformers do listen to me. I do not want even the Temple-entry Bill which has been introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly if the Hindu members of the Assembly do not accept it. I do not want the Bill to be passed forcibly. I consider myself a sanatanist. I want to get the Bill passed in a manner consistent with this claim. I do not take votes about the Bill in public meetings because it involves subtleties of Shastras and law. The common man cannot understand them. It is such a complicated matter that only lawyers and *shastris* can understand it. I believe I possess the ability to simplify a complicated problem and explain it to the common man, but I do not find it possible to do so in the case of this Bill. That is why I have not taken votes in any meeting regarding the pros and cons of the Bill. Of course the common man can decide whether or not such a Bill should be passed. Representatives of the Hindu community had, on behalf of the community, taken a pledge in Bombay in Sep-

tember 1932 that henceforth they would not recognize the practice of untouchability in Hindu society. It was also stated in that resolution that Harijans had equal rights with the caste Hindus in regard to the use of wells and dharmashalas and access to public institutions, including public temples. It was further stated in it that when we got power in our hands we would pass legislation to this effect and would do so even now if it was possible. The reference to legislation was made because it is not possible to progress in this matter without changing the law. We have got to remove the obstacle that is lying like a mountain in our way. Still I want to clear the misunderstanding that prevails regarding this Bill. A charge has been levelled against me concerning it and by no less a person than Lavate, a public worker and yogi who has been serving the people for many years. He said in a public meeting in Poona that I wanted to get the Bill passed with the help of the votes of Muslims and Christians. I laughed at this and wondered how a man like Lavate could believe such a thing. He had just believed what he was told. I opened his eyes and told him that what he believed was not true, and that the conditions regarding the Bill had been published in *Harijan*.[1]

And now one last point. You have recounted in your statement what work you had done. It is all right so long as we do not go too closely into it. There is nothing to feel proud of, if we take all the work done in Kathiawar into account. If you want compliments for the work done, I will pay them, but with reservation. You have achieved nothing great. How is it that an enterprising people like the Kathiawaris are so lethargic in this work? The enterprising among you do not observe untouchability. Then why are they so negligent about this work? I saw today a woman who was walking with the help of crutches in place of one leg. In reply to my question, she said that the leg had got a gangrene and had to be amputated, and that if that had not been done the gangrene would have spread to the whole body. Untouchability is a gangrenous limb of Hindu society and if measures are not taken to remove it the society would become crippled. And a crippled society cannot go on like that, so that it will ultimately perish. Can dharma be preserved if we cut off one of its limbs? All the limbs of dharma are inseparable from one another. Just as, if one brick is removed from an arch, the whole of it will collapse, so also if one limb of dharma perishes, if one

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 329-35.

brick from the structure gets loose and falls, the whole will collapse. We are so much engrossed in other things that we do not see how backward our Hindu society is. I for one see that. But let no one deduce from this that I want Hindus to become superior to Muslims. I have said several times that if the Hindus do this much self-purification, then they will get whatever they want and we will be able to end the enmity which exists between Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis. So wonderful a thing is this. It is life-giving and not life-destroying. But this will be possible only if all Harijan workers are pure. If their hearts have not become pure and they have not become selfless, they will not be able to serve dharma. If such workers arise in Kathiawar, the tiger or, say, the demon of untouchability that flourishes here, is bound to perish.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 8-7-1934

148. LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR[1]

July 2, 1934

DEAR MR. KELKAR[2],

The unusual demand upon my time is my excuse for delay in replying to your letter of 22nd June last.

Instead of dealing directly with the points raised by you I propose to define my own policy regarding the Indian States.

The policy of non-interference in the affairs of the States that the Congress has followed is wise and sound.

The States are independent entities under the British law. That part of India which is described as British has no more power to shape the policy of the States than it has, say, that of Afghanistan or Ceylon.

I wish it were otherwise but I recognize my impotence in the matter. India of the States is undoubtedly an integral part of geographical India. But that carries us no further than where we stand today. Portuguese and French India are also an integral part of geographical India but we are powerless to shape the course of events there. We enrol members from the States in the Congress. We receive considerable assistance from them. It is not

[1] The letter was in reply to the addressee's dated June 22, 1934; *vide* Appendix I.

[2] President, All-India States' People's Conference

want of appreciation or will that compels our non-interference. It is our helplessness.

It is my conviction that any attempt on the part of the Congress at interference can only damage the cause of the people in the States.

But there is nothing to prevent us from urging the States to adopt a certain policy.

I am of opinion that whatever we are able to accomplish in British India is bound to affect the States.

I would like the States to grant autonomy to their subjects and would like the Princes to regard themselves as, and be in fact, trustees for the people over whom they rule, drawing for themselves only a small and definite percentage of the income. I have certainly not lost hope that the Princes will deem it a pride to become real trustees of their people. I do not seek to destroy their status. I believe in the conversion of individuals and societies.

What I said at the Round Table was in the nature of an appeal made to the Princes. It certainly did not imply that whether they listened to the appeal or not, the Congress would enter the federation. I had no authority to bind the Congress to any such thing. The Congress entering the federation had to depend upon many other circumstances beyond the attitude of the Princes. If ever federation comes, it will surely depend on mutual adjustment.

I hope I have covered all the points you have raised. If I have not, please write to me again. I have written this under great pressure of work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI N. C. KELKAR
"KESARI" OFFICE
POONA CITY

From a photostat: C.W. 3118. Courtesy: Kashinath N. Kelkar

149. LETTER TO D. V. GOKHALE

July 2, 1934

DEAR MR. GOXHALE,

I thank you for your letter. I do hope that Mr. Bhopatkar[1] has no trace left of the scratches and other injuries received by him.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MR. D. V. GOKHALE
568 NARAYAN PETH
POONA 2

From a photostat: G.N. 6105; also C.W. 9713

150. LETTER TO A. S. M. MOFAKHER

AS AT WARDHA,
July 2, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

Intense pressure of work has prevented me from replying earlier to your letter of 17th ultimo.

I have carefully read the articles of association. I have grave doubts as to the success of the movement. It will not touch the terrorists nor those who are in silent sympathy with them. General principles of non-violence have no appeal for them. We must not expect to succeed without probing and dealing with the cause of terrorism.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI A. S. M. MOFAKHER, B.L.
B. A. T. V. HEADQUARTERS
21 TANTI BAGAN ROAD
CALCUTTA

Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Lakshman Balwant Bhopatkar, Advocate and Municipal Councillor, Poona, who had sustained injuries during the bomb explosion at Poona on June 25, 1934; *vide* pp. 108-9.

151. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

BHAVNAGAR,
July 2, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

For the first time, I saw signs of some erasures in your letter. These are found in your list of visitors.

There was a wire today saying that the women prisoners in Sabarmati jail have been released. Mani, therefore, must have been released. Some men prisoners also have been released from that jail. Some still remain behind.

As for the attempt on my life, I don't think it is worth writing about. Something of the sort was bound to happen for one cause or another. I am glad that it happened on account of my Harijan work. When some means have been used for one end, it is bound to be used for another end also, unconnected with the first. But, then, does anything happen unless God wills it?

I am writing this letter from Bhavnagar. You know the state of affairs here. One great difficulty is that the workers cannot work as a team. But the collection will be quite good, about Rs. 30,000.

Durga and others are coming to see me tomorrow.

I don't think there will be any difficulty regarding the cultivators. Please don't worry in the least.

Being hard pressed for time, I can't write long letters to you. But I have asked others in the party to write to you.

Did I write to you about Amtussalaam having been operated upon for piles? She has now been discharged from the hospital. Meherally[1] is in a hospital. How is your health?

Ramdas has been suffering. He needs a lot of money for medicines, etc. How can I let him accept such a large amount as gift? I hardened my heart, therefore, and wrote to him today saying that he must not accept more than Rs. 100 every month, no matter whether he lived or died in consequence. Keshu is in Rajkot for the present.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 108-9

[1] Yusuf Meherally, socialist leader of Bombay

152. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

July 2, 1934

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I will inquire about the ink. I have not been able to get it so far. Anyone can make ink, but there are many difficulties in making ink of good quality. Hardly anybody succeeds. You may go to the Harijan Ashram whenever you like after discussing the matter with Parikshitlal. Remember October, however. Don't go even during the last week of that month.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VASUMATIBEHN
DAULATRAM KASHIRAM CO.
KHAN MAHOMAD KASAMBHAI BUILDING
KARLEWADI, THAKURDWAR, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9388. Also C.W. 633. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

153. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHARMA

July 2, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your clear letter. I have no objection to your going to Khurja. I understand now your remark to Ramdas that you would look after the expenses. I suppose it meant that I had undertaken the responsibility of that expense. Quite correct if it did. There should be one more proviso that the expenditure should be within limits. The letter from Ramdas gives me to understand that the minimum amount required would be Rs. 300 a month. The expenditure is too high in my view. After all we have to take the requisite sum from Jamnalalji. How can I burden him or anyone else to this extent? It would be better that Ramdas goes away to South Africa. He will, somehow or other, get well there. You too may go if you can obtain the passport. It should also be understood about nature cure that it is practicable even for the poor. It is very painful for me to write all this but I see no alternative. The affection between you and

Ramdas is a test for you too, while I am of course not exempt from it.

My opinion is crystallizing into this, that you should remain at Wardha and manage everything within a limited amount. The expenses on Ramdas and Nirmala should not exceed Rs. 100 and the same goes for you too. Whatever is possible within this limit should be done. Do not do anything through ignorant attachment. Ramdas will become all right when his future is settled. Others in similar circumstances have been cured thus; Ramdas too will be cured. In all this your decision and judgment are essential as Ramdas is placing more and more confidence in you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48,* between pp 76 and 77

154. LETTER TO U. RAJAGOPALA KRISHNAIYYA

July 2, 1934

BHAI KRISHNAIYYA,

Here are the replies to your queries:

1. There is no doubt that a union of dharma and *artha* is possible for an individual, the society and the nation. But it is almost impossible to say when it might be achieved.

2. My writings about non-attachment to the result are an outcome of personal experience not on one occasion but many. Even a hard-working yet hungry farmer can attain self-realization. The wise men go to the length of saying that self-realization though not impossible is certainly very hard to achieve for the man endowed with the three assets, that of wealth, health and intellect.

3. An all-pervading, conscious Power fills our universe which we call God. We have to offer to it worship. Even the fact that that power does not fulfil all our desires should cause us no concern.

4. The *Gita* cannot be interpreted as one pleases, it has to be interpreted in accordance with rules of grammar, etc.

5. The meaning of being transformed into God is clear enough. It means a son is not content till he becomes like his father.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From Hindi: C.W. 9238. Courtesy: U. Rajagopala Krishnaiyya

155. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BHAVNAGAR[1]

July 3, 1934

Kathiawar should be ashamed, if foreign cloth entered its limits. If you sincerely work, you can supply khaddar not only to Kathiawar but to the whole of India. It is a shame, that possessing excellent opportunity of growing cotton, you give two crores to foreign countries for your clothing.

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-7-1934

156. SPEECH ON STATE GOSHALA, BHAVNAGAR[2]

July 3, 1934

Before taking leave of Bhavnagar I cannot but make a passing reference to the State goshala, which I had the privilege to visit in company with my old friend, Swami Anand. The goshala has a fine herd of Gir cattle, and it has a four-year-old bull which, according to the Maharajasaheb, no mean judge of cattle, is the finest animal of the kind he had seen in Kathiawar. The State is doing very good service by maintaining this farm, but I hope it will not rest content with it, but also chalk out and work out a policy of cattle improvement in villages by placing a studbull in each village, castrating all other bulls whatever and, in the case of people letting loose a bull on religious grounds, insisting that it shall be a first-class animal and, if it is not, stopping the dedication altogether.

Harijan, 20-7-1934

[1] The meeting was held in the morning. Ramjibhai of the Khadi Department, Kathiawar, submitted a report on progress of khadi in Kathiawar.

[2] This speech is extracted from "Weekly Letter"

157. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

July 5, 1934

CHI. AMALA,

This is just to send you my love. I hope you are well and cheerful.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI AMALABEHN
HARIJAN ASHRAM
SABARMATI

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum

158. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, AJMER[1]

July 5, 1934

Gandhiji reached Ajmer at night on the 4th, and on the 5th he addressed a women's meeting the first thing in the morning. He said he would not make any elaborate argument before them. Everyone would agree that we are subject to the law of love As Tulsidas put it, mercy is the root of religion Untouchability must be abolished if only because it was opposed to the law of love and to the spirit of mercy. How could they swear by love and at the same time consign a large class of their fellowmen to insanitary surroundings, prevent them from drawing water at wells, compel them to drink water spoilt by cattle and assault them if they tried to assert their common right over public wells? So also, if quite a number of dirty *savarna* children could attend the public schools with impunity, was it right to exclude Harijans even when they were clean? To consider others as lower than ourselves was a species of pride, which Tulsidas called the root of sin, and pride goes before destruction.

Harijan, 20-7-1934

[1] This and the two following items are extracted from "Weekly Letter".

159. INTERVIEW TO HARIJAN SEVAKS

AJMER,
July 5, 1934

In the course of his conversation with Harijan servants, Gandhiji carefully defined the conditions of Harijan service. He wanted the workers to serve the Harijans in all sincerity. This service was its own reward, and it had no selfish or political motive behind it whatever. Their sole aim was the purification of religion. There was no room in the movement for those who approached the question from a political standpoint, and they must leave it at the earliest opportunity, as their continuance in it was fraught with great injury to the cause. They could never hope to convert *savarna* Hindus, if they cherished any political aims. They alone should participate in the movement who accepted the principles of truth and non-violence and who believed in temples as an integral feature of Hinduism.

Harijan, 20-7-1934

160. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, AJMER

July 5, 1934

Gandhiji said that the Pandit was perfectly entitled to attend the meeting with the black-flaggers and record his protest against the movement.[1] Whoever had assaulted him had exhibited gross incivility. Black flags could do them no harm, but the assault on the Pandit had certainly damaged the cause they had all at heart. The Pandit's assailant had committed a great sin in the eyes of God as well as man. Sanatanists and reformers had occasionally come to blows before, but the Ajmer assault was unpardonable, as he had made himself responsible for the Pandit's safety. Untouchability could never be abolished by violent methods, which would only recoil on their own heads. He would consider what penance he should undergo as reparation for the untoward incident,[2] for people ought

[1] Lalnath had met Gandhiji in the afternoon and took his permission to speak at the meeting. He, however, reached the place before Gandhiji had arrived there and staged a black-flag demonstration, which led to a scuffle and assault on the sanatanist leader.

[2] Gandhiji decided to undergo a week's fast from August 7; *vide* "Statement on Fast", 6-8-1934.

to know the conditions on which he could invite their co-operation Reformers might not assault others, but should suffer assaults without retaliation, as thus only could hearts be moved and untouchability abolished He was confident that religion could not be served or saved by violence, untruth or anger, but only by self-denial, self-restraint and self-suffering He could not bear with violence even in politics; much less could he brook it in religion.

Gandhiji then called upon the Pandit to speak and asked the audience to accord him a patient hearing When he had spoken for a couple of minutes, members of the public interrupted him. Upon this Gandhiji said that it was an exhibition of gross discourtesy. Some of them had already committed one incivility in molesting him, and they were committing another in refusing to hear him. If they were not here prepared to hear the Pandit, it meant that they were not prepared to hear him either He never claimed infallibility for himself. On the other hand, he had confessed to Himalayan blunders. If he could say with impunity that untouchability was a sin, the Pandit had an equal right to assert that the movement directed against untouchability was irreligious in his opinion If they cried 'shame' when the Pandit expressed his honest opinion, the shame was not his but theirs. They must not thus betray intolerance, which was but a form of violence. A man who did not listen to opponents could never be capable of truly religious conduct. Harijan service was a religious movement in which there was no room for intolerance or physical violence. Supposing some violence was offered to him and it was even of a fatal character, would they lose their senses and indulge in orgies of violence? If so, he would have lived his life before them in vain. They would kill the great movement, whereas if they restrained themselves untouchability would die with him.

Harijan, 20-7-1934

161. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

AJMER,
July 5, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

I am still working against time. Therefore you may not expect a long letter from me. Chandrashankar is writing to you fully. He will describe to you the sad incident[1] that took place today.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

I have several statements about prison treatment. But I have not been able to examine them. Hence there is delay in sending them to Mr. Maxwell.

Love.

BAPU

From the original. C.W. 6289 Courtesy: Mirabehn Also G.N 9755

162. *LETTER TO G. G. JOG*

[On or before *July 6, 1934*][1]

Gandhiji in the course of a communication to Mr. G. G. Jog[2], regarding khadi *hundi* and Gandhi Purse controversy started in the Press,[3] says that he feels that he cannot issue any statement without knowing the full facts and the local circumstances.

The statement[4] issued by you explaining the facts seems to be enough. It may sometimes be good to pay attention to what appears in the newspapers.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-7-1934

[1] The letter was published under the date-line, "Cawnpore, July 6", 1934.

[2] A prominent Congress Worker of Kanpur

[3] Various newspapers referring to Gandhiji's visit to Kanpur had stated that Kanpur workers resented the action of the All-India Spinners' Association in selling khadi *hundis*, as it was apprehended that it would injure the cause of collection of Harijan Fund.

[4] The source had reported that according to D Majumdar, Secretary of the U P Congress, a statement was issued by the Kanpur Spinners' Association, which *inter alia* read: " . . . khadi work is not against Harijan work. . . . In the case of organizing the sale of khadi by means of khadi *hundis* the question of raising funds does not arise at all. The Spinners' Association has not appealed for any subscription from the people of Kanpur. They have only been approached to purchase khadi and show respect to Gandhiji. . . ."

163. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

July 6, 1934

MY DEAR MALKANI,

You should pardon me. Though I met Jamnalalji, I forgot all about you. I must now write to him. This I am doing.

I hope to write about the J. K. fund.

You are wrong in resenting Thakkar Bapa's wire or letter whatever it was. If he thought that you and he could not be spared from the office at the same time, he should have the right to do so without incurring the risk of being misunderstood. There is no question here of ordering one about. As to his travelling with me and thus making it impossible for you to do so, except for Sind, it is inevitable. For the Punjab, U. P. or Bengal his presence is necessary. I should have been at sea in Gujarat without his[1] preceding me. He was equally necessary in Kathiawar. We workers must have a tough hide.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 906

164. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

AJMER,
July 6, 1934

CHI. MAHADEV,

I rose at 2.30 today. After writing the diary, I am writing this. I am fairly exhausted now. I don't like the discussions and the meetings. I feel the lack of sleep all the time. The correspondence has piled up. I attend to as many letters as I can.

Durga and the other women came and saw me at Bhavnagar. She and Velanbehn are waiting for you. It will be better, therefore, to go and see them before joining me. Bablo is at Dihan. I can't think what should be done about all of them. But come to a decision only after meeting me.

[1] The source has "him".

As we shall be meeting in a very few days now, I don't write more. What Chandrashankar has written to you is enough.

Take care of your health after you leave.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

165. SPEECH AT HYDERABAD[1]

July 7, 1934

I see more ladies here, and I know they are religious. My message to you is that if you want to protect your religion, you should discard untouchability, clean your minds and take all human beings as equal. If it is not done you will be sinners and will destroy your religion.

I got one gold bangle from a lady at Mirani.[2] Now you also show your sign of love for the movement, by giving ornaments and money. I have finished my work and now you should do yours.

The Hindustan Times, 8-7-1934

166. SPEECH IN REPLY TO MUNICIPAL ADDRESS[3]*, KARACHI*

[July 7, 1934][4]

In his speeches here, Mahatmaji congratulated the Karachi city on maintaining cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims and also for having done a lot for the uplift of Harijans, but he hoped that the Karachi Municipality will still do its best for Harijans and set an example in this respect to other municipalities of India. He was, however, not satisfied with the unhealthy quarters in which at some places Harijans were living and he urged the city fathers and the people to see that not a single Harijan

[1] At Homestead Hall, which was mainly occupied by women while the rest remained outside the hall. A purse of Rs. 3,188 was presented by Jairamdas Doulatram. Gandhiji could not address the people outside the hall due to noise and rush.

[2] Gandhiji had alighted at Mirani, five miles from Hyderabad station.

[3] Presented by Jamshed Mehta, Mayor of Karachi

[4] The speech is extracted from "Weekly Letter" in *Harijan*, 27-7-1934.

was housed in Karachi in any quarters in which they themselves would not consent to live.

He also urged them to purge their hearts of distinctions of high and low, untouchable and touchable, or of their being Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians or Parsis, etc , and until that was done India would not attain her salvation By doing this, not only India but the whole world would be benefited.

Mahatmaji also emphasized that a noble cause like that of the removal of untouchability would not be carried out by the use of force It could only be achieved by self-purification and penance and he urged the Harijan workers to realize their responsibilities in this direction. He also urged people to show respect towards sanatanists who might differ from them

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-7-1934

167. LETTER TO BALUKAKA KANITKAR

July 8, 1934

DEAR BALUKAKA,

I have gone through your letter. You won't find me talking about civil disobedience. I am occupied in talking about the constructive programme you like so much. Do therefore work away at it for all you are worth.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI BALUKAKA KANITKAR
341 SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY 2

From a photostat : C.W. 962 Courtesy: G. N. Kanitkar

168. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

July 8, 1934

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,[1]

I have your letter. Coming to me for improving your health may not be practicable, but you can certainly come after you get all right. Write to me what the Doctor says. Come when you are able to move about and can have normal food. The earliest you can come is at Kanpur, but the best course would be to come

[1] The superscription is in Urdu in the source.

to Wardha on the 5th. I shall be reaching Kanpur on the 23rd, Benares on the 26th and Wardha on the 5th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati. G.N. 310

169. SPEECH AT CONGRESS WORKERS' MEETING, KARACHI

July 8, 1934

On Sunday morning Mahatma Gandhi had a heart-to-heart talk with the Sind Congressites in Khaliqdina Hall Gandhiji referred to the socialists' allegations that the programme chalked out by the Working Committee was mild and ineffective. He rebutted it saying that khadi, Hindu-Muslim unity, untouchability, and peasants' re-organization were sufficiently dynamic work. If the workers took them in right earnest there could be no need for civil resistance and going to jail. He advised the people not to change the programme which was sufficiently dynamic and truly socialistic

Speaking on Communal Award, he said the Congress could neither accept it, as the Muslims desired, nor reject as Hindus and Sikhs wanted. He felt, therefore, the Working Committee's resolution was the wisest

The Tribune, 11-7-1934

170. SPEECH TO SIND HARIJAN WORKERS, KARACHI[1]

July 8, 1934

At Karachi, on the 8th instant, Gandhiji met the Harijan workers of Sind, who complained that Kabulis who had lent money to Harijans harassed them a good deal and refused to accept payment even when their exorbitant claim as regards the principal and the interest was admitted in full. Gandhiji advised that, in dealing with these money-lenders, they should seek the good offices of godfearing Mussalmans in the first instance. But their main work lay in so educating the Harijans that they would cease to borrow money altogether for unproductive purposes and give up vices like drink and gambling And when they did borrow, six per cent was the maximum interest they should pay. In Tharparkar, there are about 5,000 Bhils and Meghwads, the original inhabitants and peasant proprietors of the district, who are fast losing their lands and being reduced to the status of landless labourers and stand badly in need of legislative protection.

[1] The speech is extracted from "Weekly Letter".

Gandhiji said they might try to get such legislation passed, but meanwhile a band of earnest workers must bury themselves in the heart of this backward tract and dedicate their lives to its service.

Harijan, 27-7-1934

171. SPEECH TO BUSINESSMEN, KARACHI[1]

July 8, 1934

The Chairman has rightly observed that of late I have very little time for activities not directly connected with Harijan work; or, I may be said to have no time at all. It is also true that after such an extensive tour and the experience of walking in Utkal, I find myself rather exhausted mentally. Now I am only hoping that the month of July will pass off without trouble so that I can rest my mind a little. In this frame of mind I was not inclined in the beginning to accept the Chairman's invitation to visit this place. But I could not decline the invitation when I came to know that the Chairman of this Association is also the Chairman of the Harijan Sevak Sangh here, and carries on the Sangh's activities admirably well.

As it is, I have always had good relations with everyone in India, including businessmen and other rich people. I have been constantly receiving financial help from them for the poor in the country, for *Daridranarayana*, for Harijans and others. But I feel it is necessary to make it clear that although I am friendly with the princes, officers, business men and the rich, I never forget that I am a representative of the workers. It is my constant prayer to God that I may not, in any way disgrace myself as representative of workers, and, I may not ask anything for myself from the rich class. I believe that I have led fifty years of my public life in this spirit.

I do believe that businessmen, the wealthy men and princes are inseparable limbs of India. My duty does not demand that I should destroy one of these limbs in order to serve *Daridranarayana*. My experience of many years has strengthened my belief that even if it is possible to liquidate these classes, *Daridranarayana* is not going to benefit by it. What I desire and what is uppermost in my thoughts and dreams is that I should help as much as is possible in bringing about unity among all these classes, and devote my utmost energy to this cause. It is also my experience that so far I have not by such activities harmed *Daridranarayana*. I have seen

[1] This appeared under the title "To the Businessmen of Karachi".

that when I approach the poor, they accept me as one of them and shower affection on me. And even now, I shall do for them whatever is possible.

Having laid the foundation-stone of this building[1], I take it that you would not turn me away empty-handed whenever I approach you for the much-needed help for the *Daridranarayana*. I presume that, as representatives of the Indian business community, you would not resort to dubious trade practices, would not exploit *Daridranarayana* and would see that their rights are not violated at your hands. I expect that you would not indulge in any trade which may harm *Daridranarayana*. I know that all businessmen in India do not carry on their business in this spirit. I also know that all the rich people do not use their wealth as if it really belonged to the poor. In spite of that I am sure the number of rich persons who desire to be the trustees of their wealth is increasing. They are striving hard and also succeeding in their efforts. If we treat these rich people with decency, they would fulfil the expectations we have of them. What benevolence would not teach them today, selfishness would teach them tomorrow. Experience shows that altruism and self-interest can be blended in trade. Genuine *artha*[2] is that alone which includes *paramartha*[3]. This is the teaching of all the religions of the world. Religion has only come into existence to teach us that we human beings who are eddying in life's current should find solace in serving each other and while doing so satisfy our physical needs within limits. I know of no religion which says that God has given right to man to indulge in physical pleasure in utter selfishness. History reveals that any individual or society that lives only for indulging in pleasure is destroyed. The world does not even remember them. But it constantly remembers, exalts and immortalizes those who devote their lives to the service of humanity.

In conclusion, I pray to God that this Merchants' Association may continue to do such noble deeds which would serve the best interest of every Indian. It would do good not only to Hindus and Muslims but the whole of India which includes the *Daridranarayana* as well as others. You have pledged that this Association is open to everyone who calls himself an Indian and accepts India as his country. I hope that this beautiful city which is small but well on the way to becoming another Bombay and may compete with Bombay in the near future—will have no place for jealousy

[1] For the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association
[2] Wealth
[3] The supreme good

and enmity. Competition is not a bad thing by itself. That is the basis of trade. It is all right to progress through competition, but there should not be mutual jealousy and quarrels. If you succeed in avoiding these things, I am sure that your Association would become an ideal organization for the country.

You have yourself mentioned that because of the efforts of your Mayor you have received land and other help. He is the son of a wealthy man, but an outsider who comes to Karachi and meets him would regard him not as a rich man but a fakir. In the entire history of municipalities I have never come across an instance where one person is elected Mayor year after year. It is not too much to entertain great hopes from a city who has a fakir for its Mayor.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 29-7-1934

172. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, KARACHI

July 8, 1934

At the public meeting in the evening, 30,000 people, including 5,000 ladies, had turned up to hear Gandhiji, but they were rather disappointed, as the loud-speakers failed and Swami Krishnanand[1] had to take their place as a human substitute. Referring to the Harijan quarters he had inspected, Gandhiji said he was deeply pained to see the *chawls* in Ranchhod lines, and he expected the Municipality to see that they no longer disfigured the fair face of the city of Karachi. Besides this, there were three more places which peremptorily demanded improvement. It did not redound to Karachi's credit that a single Harijan within its limits should be compelled to live in a house which the tallest of its citizens would not gladly occupy The citizens, therefore, should continuously press this matter upon the Municipality's attention until the remedy suited to each case was applied [2]

A band of sincere workers armed with prayer and purity as weapons was what was needed for the work. No caste distinctions should ever exist He desired unity between communities wherein lay India's salvation. He

[1] Secretary, Karachi District Congress Committee

[2] This paragraph is extracted from "Weekly Letter". What follows is reproduced from *The Tribune*. *The Bombay Chronicle*, 9-7-1934, had reported. "Coaxing a small child . . . Gandhiji quietly removed its ornaments from its neck, while he struggled with an old woman . . to part with her ring when one of the bidders . . . gave a fifty-rupee note towards the price of an article which was . . . for Rs 15 . . . Gandhiji . . resolutely refused to part with the balance much to the merriment of the crowd."

requested the public to nurse no grievance against sanatanists. Love, persuasion and no force should be applied in converting them to his viewpoint. He expressed his inability to make a long speech amidst the din of the unruly mob.

Harijan, 27-7-1934; also *The Tribune*, 11-7-1934

173. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

KARACHI,
July 9, 1934

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
NEW DELHI

ALARM UNJUSTIFIED. TAKING EVERY CARE. PROPOSE TAKING SEVEN DAYS FAST FROM FIFTH OR SIXTH AUGUST DATE AFTER REACHED WARDHA REGARDING ASSAULT LALNATH. HOLD THIS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY. ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE MADE NOW. WIRE APPROVAL.[1]

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 7962. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

174. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

July 9, 1934

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. You can certainly help Butow if you feel impelled thereto. He is not likely to get any money from his people. I wonder if he has told you that he has been taking money from friends at different places. He does not seem to regret what he has done. After all there is no moral obligation to support him. He should be told to leave India if he cannot find an honourable livelihood. But you may take a different view. You should then enforce it. I must not stand between you and your generosity.

[1] The addressee's reply telegram read: "Personally hold such a long fast unwarranted. Will give unnecessary shock to country which hope Lalnath does not desire. Request showing this telegram to Lalnath. Hope you will agree reducing period of fast. Step rather drastic. Finally your discretion" (Birla Papers).

If you do not mind Thakkar Bapa's decision[1], you should not mind his mannerism. It should be enough for you and me to know that he has a heart of gold and is always actuated by the best of motives. He felt that either you or he had to be at the centre.

We meet soon even though for a few brief moments.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G N. 907

175. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

July 9, 1934

CHI. AMALA,

I have your letter. You must not be so thin-skinned. And why should you mind what a mere youngster says? He may say what he likes. You should simply ignore what is useless and take in what is useful. Puratan is a good young man. You should take in good part what he says.[2] In one thing you are decidedly wrong, i.e., in imposing your will upon the children. You can only make them do things that they do willingly. Your ten years' bad practice cannot become good by prescription. But I cannot have you to impose things on children, nor will I impose anything on you. If you are finding life irksome there, tell me what you will have me to do. You have to settle down to something. Think hard and guide me.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Yes, I have been taking milk for the last four days.

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* p. 147.

[2] *Vide* also the following item.

176. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

July 9, 1934

CHI. PURATAN,

What did you find in Amalabehn's letter which seemed shameful to you? Whenever you see any cause, you should tell and correct her. When you think it your duty to intervene, you should do so. If you are convinced that she is a good lady, you should bear with her and use her services. She has many good qualities, which you should make use of. She is foolish, of course. If she were not, she would not cling to me, for she has had to bear many hard blows from me.

Write to me in detail.

How is Totaramji? Has Hariprasad left? Exert your best to see that the atmosphere there does not become impure.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9170

177. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

July 9, 1934

BHAI FULCHAND,

It is good that you reminded me. I had completely forgotten about the matter and would have done nothing about it. I am writing today, right now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am not replying separately to Mistry.

SJT. FULCHAND KASTURCHAND SHAH
KELVANI MANDAL
WADHWAN CITY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9196. Also C.W. 2849. Courtesy: Fulchand K. Shah

178. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

July 9, 1934

CHI. KANTI,

I had your two letters. I would certainly wish to give you whatever help I can in your studies. But I think it would be advisable to wait and see what Rajaji does from Madras. I shall be meeting him in Benares at any rate. I will have a talk with him then. But I am also writing to him today. If you wish to join the Jamia, you may do even that. You will get there the subjects which you wish to study and also come into contact with Muslim students. Or you can stay in Kashi. Anandshankarbhai[1] is there, as also 'Sundaram'[2]. There is Nagardas, too, besides many others. The equipment is all that can be desired. At least I have these two institutions in my mind. If you wish to stay at Rajkot under Narandas's care, that also will be possible. I have no fear about you. I don't look upon you as a mere child. If you wish to discuss the problem with me, you can travel with me for a few stations from Delhi. That may perhaps be the best opportunity for talking the matter over. But it is possible that somebody else may join from Delhi with whom it may be necessary [for me] to engage in conversation. Think over it. Ba certainly worries about you.

Yes, Ramdas, one may say, is fairly ill.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7286. Courtesy: Kanti Gandhi

179. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

July 9, 1934

DEAR DAUGHTER RAIHANA,[3]

I got your letter. I have replied to Dahyabhai. Since he is your brother, wouldn't I have forfeited my privilege of being a father to you if I didn't see him even when I went to Mehsana?

[1] Anandshankar Bapubhai Dhruva (1869-1942), Sanskrit scholar and Gujarati writer; Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University

[2] Tribhuvan Purushotamdas Luhar, a Gujarati poet

[3] The superscription is in Urdu in the source.

A letter for Hamida is enclosed. Since you will be reading it, I don't write anything about the matter here.

I felt unhappy that you could not come to Mehsana, but your reason for not coming was correct.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S N. 9648

180. LETTER TO RAMA DEVI CHOWDHRY

July 9, 1934

CHI. RAMA DEVI,

I have your letter. The scheme you have sent me about village activities is good. It will be fine if it is put into practice. I may state only this much for daughter, mother and elder sisters[1] that instruction should be imparted in the following order, firstly hygiene, secondly manual labour, then cottage industry followed by Hindi alphabet. Teaching of mother tongue is not essential. Annapurna[2] and others are well, I trust.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMA DEVI
CHANDNI CHOWK
CUTTACK, ORISSA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2788

181. STATEMENT ON FAST[3]

[July 10, 1934][4]

Inquiry made by me into the unfortunate incident at Ajmer resulting in the cut received by Pandit Lalnath on the head shows that the black-flag demonstration enraged those who saw the processionists, and, according to Pandit Lalnath, the public, which included volunteers, seized the flags and trampled them under foot.

[1] Presumably addressee's daughter, herself and other women working for Harijan uplift

[2] Addressee's daughter

[3] This appeared under the title "Gandhiji's Impending Fast".

[4] Associated Press of India released the statement from Karachi on this date.

A scuffle ensued in which Pandit Lalnath received the injury mentioned. Happily, none of the other demonstrators received injuries worth the name. But the guilt is enhanced by the fact that those in charge of the volunteers had specific instructions to see that the black-flag demonstrators were fully protected from molestation by the public. It is no answer in defence that Pandit Lalnath and his party came in advance of the time appointed. In my opinion, responsible men should have been posted at all points to afford protection to the demonstrators, and notices should have been put up at the meeting ground, warning the public against interfering with them in any shape or form.

That precaution was not taken and the pledge given to Pandit Lalnath, that he and his party would be free from molestation when they made the demonstration, was broken. The pledge was given by me in the full faith that the captain of the volunteers was willing and able to carry it out. I have no doubt he was a willing partner to the pledge. That he was unable to redeem the pledge was quite clear. But there can be no doubt that the final responsibility rests with me. Indeed, no pledge was necessary. In a movement claimed to be purely religious, non-violence on the part of the public sympathizing with the movement must be presumed. If I mentioned the pledge, I have done so to enhance the magnitude of the guilt and demonstrate the greater necessity of public penance on my part. Pandit Lalnath always warned me that my persistence in the movement must result in widespread violence on the part of the symapthizing public. I did not share his fear, nor do I share it now, in spite of his ability to show stray cases of violence done to black-flag demonstrators.

But it is necessary for me to emphasize the fact that the movement, which is purely religious, admits of no violence on the part of reformers even in spite of provocations. The movement can only succeed by appealing to reason and touching the hearts of the opponents. This is possible only through the purity and penance of reformers. After much searching of the heart, I have decided to impose upon myself a fast of seven days, to commence on Tuesday noon August 7th, i.e., two days after my reaching Wardha, which I expect to do on the 5th of August next. This is the least penance I owe to Pandit Lalnath and those sanatanists whom he represents. God willing, the Harijan tour will finish at Benares on the 2nd of August next. It is, perhaps, fitting that the end will be signalized by a penitential fast. May it cover all errors, conscious or unconscious, of omission or commission, of me and my co-workers. The movement will not end with the fast. Let it open a new and

cleaner chapter in this struggle for the emancipation of nearly fifty million human beings from thraldom imposed in the sacred name of religion. Let it also be a warning to those who are in, or will join, the movement that they must approach it with clean hands and hearts free from untruth and violence in thought, word and deed. I hope no one will feel tempted to imitate the fast. The cause will be best served by greater dedication.

Harijan, 13-7-1934

182. *TELEGRAM TO NATARAJAN*

July 10, 1934

NATARAJAN
BANDRA (BOMBAY)

THANKS WIRE. READ STATEMENT[1]. CAUSE TOO GREAT FOR OVERLOOKING AJMER NEGLECT DUTY.

GANDHI

Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

183. *TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA*

July 10, 1934

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
NEW DELHI

YOUR DEVDAS WIRES.[2] READ STATEMENT. NOTHING LESS THAN SEVEN DAYS MEETS CASE. FRIENDS HERE AGREE.

BAPU

Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy· Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] For the addrdssee's telegram, *vide* p. 154.

184. TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

KARACHI,
July 10, 1934

DECISION ALREADY MADE BECAUSE INEVITABLE. READ STATEMENT[1].

[From Gujarati]
Bapuni Prasadi, p. 147

185. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 10, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

You will understand the coming fast. The incident calls for the penance because there was a clear breach of pledge.[2] Nothing on earth is so serious perhaps as breach of safety. If I had greater capacity I would have taken a longer fast. You must not be disturbed. You should go on with your appointed task[3], unmoved. Share this with the other friends.

Love to all.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6290. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9756

186. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

July 10, 1934

I see nothing wrong in Rajaji's standing on the same platform with Bhulabhai. But it is best that, even though doing all this, he should not join the Board or enter the Assembly. I would dissuade even those who are not confirmed non-co-operators from entering the Assembly. There will be too many who will be wanting to go. All of them will not make a good show there, nor can all get elected.

[1] *Vide* pp. 158-60.
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Public Meeting, Ajmer", pp. 144-5, and "Statement on Fast", pp. 158-60.
[3] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 94.

We may assume that Rajaji and Rajendrababu, when they consider it desirable to join the Board or enter the Assembly, will [surely] do so. They are always free to do it. On the other hand, those like you who wish to keep themselves completely out are free to do that too. [You may be sure that] nobody will be criticized on that ground. And even if there is some criticism, you should not mind it. In this age now, we ought to shed all fear and not to pay too much attention to what others do or think. People may follow me in my intellectual experiments as long as they appeal to them. My spiritual experiments require faith. People may follow them, as far as their faith can lead them. Let nobody force his reason or his heart to follow me.

As you will be reading in the papers about my impending fast, I don't write more about it here. Its necessity should be self-evident.

I got your wire. My health will survive the ordeal. I will come through if I don't have to carry too heavy a burden from day to day. Having reached dinner time, why should I have a breakfast?[1] Have faith.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp 148-9

187. INTERVIEW TO HARIJAN LEADERS[2]

KARACHI,
July 10, 1934

Early in the morning on the 10th, a number of prominent Harijans met Gandhiji, represented their grievances to him and sought his advice on many points. As regards Municipal and other elections, Gandhiji said that there never should be a contest between one Harijan and another Harijans should consult among themselves and select as many worthy candidates as there were seats, and these should have a walk-over. It would do them no good if these seats, instead of furnishing opportunities for service, were looked upon as conferring privilege.

With reference to the demand put forward by some Harijans for the reservation of a certain percentage of posts in services, Gandhiji said they would perhaps be surprised to hear that there were hardly a few lakhs of Government posts in the whole of India. Out of these few how many could

[1] A Gujarati saying which means: 'Having reached the goal, why should I go back?'

[2] This is extracted from "Weekly Letter".

after all be held by Harijans, and what would that mean to five crores of Harijans? Gandhiji, therefore, advised the Harijans to leave these percentages severely alone and trust merit to command attention.

Harijan, 27-7-1934

188. SPEECH AT DAYARAM JETHAMAL SIND COLLEGE, KARACHI[1]

July 10, 1934

This is not my first contact with you. My contact with students has always been intimate whether they are students of Sind or any other province. This kind of relationship exists since I returned from South Africa. Therefore I have confidence, based on my experience, that I have a place in the hearts of the students. Whenever I am asked, 'How many children do you have?' I reply, "Innumerable, and they keep on increasing daily"; there is no fall in the number. Some of them die; but many more are born. Some betray me and some even run away from me. If I count the number of those who are born, it will outnumber the total of those who have run away from me, who have betrayed me and who are dead. Such boys and girls are first born out of their mothers' wombs and as they have faith come to me and, having transformed their lives, are reborn.

It was for this reason that I could not decline your invitation. You should know that at the moment my mental and physical condition is such that I would not accept any invitation. A girl in this city is on her death-bed. She wished that I should call on her. To her grandmother, who came with the request, I had to say "If I come to see your child, [I must go and see other] sons and daughters of mine who are ill; how can I manage to see all of them? If I call on one, how can I turn down the request of another?" I have still not been able to find a way out of this dilemma. I hardened my heart and argued to myself, 'After all I would not be able to save her by going there. And so I will not go.' Nursing the sick has been my habit but I hardened my feelings and restrained myself. If it was difficult for me to call on that girl, then it was equally difficult to come here. It is beyond my physical and mental strength these days to go about from place to place. Normally money tempts me; but lately I have become free to a great extent even from that temptation.

[1] This appeared under the title: "To the Students of Karachi".

I am indifferent whether I get money or not. I shall certainly carry on this work even if I do not get money. For, this activity is after all carried on not by me but by God. It is beyond the power of a single individual to bring about a change of heart in millions of caste Hindus. Man cannot acquire such power even by self-purification or penance. By these means he merely becomes an instrument in the hands of God. He can do nothing more. I am experiencing this every day and every moment, and that makes me more and more humble. The world alone can say whether or not there is humility in my words and actions. But I am humble and my humility goes on increasing, because I know and realize my mental, physical and spiritual limitations.

With this introduction I would like to tell the students, boys and girls, that humility is the primary thing to be acquired. One who is not humble cannot put one's learning to proper use. What does it matter if he has obtained double first class or has stood first? One does not achieve everything by just passing an examination. It is possible that it may help in securing a good job or a good marriage alliance. But, if learning is to be put to proper use, if it is to be used only for the sake of service, one should acquire more and more humility every day. No service is possible without it. I know quite a few students who are proud of their B. A. Hons. or engineering degrees. The villagers would not even bother to look at them. They would say: "How are we concerned with degrees? How are you going to share our troubles?" Nowhere in the 7,00,000 Indian villages would one find an instance of someone winning the affection of the villagers because he possessed high academic degrees. Man should not use his intelligence and spiritual power to earn his livelihood and sustain himself. For that purpose God has provided him with hands and legs, and with these he should do some common labour and earn his bread. Can learning be used for earning thousands of rupees? In the past even lawyers rendered their services free of charge. This practice is prevalent even today. A barrister cannot file a suit for his fees, for, his is supposed to be a profession of service. The same is true of vaids. To which student, boy or girl, can I say that the wealth of learning is meant for service? And that too in Sind? Here they try to imitate the Sahibs and the Parsis. When I saw the girls during my first visit to Sind I wondered how there were so many Parsi girls around. Later on I came to know that they belonged to the Amil class. I had come in contact with the Sindhis in South Africa. But I had no occasion to know Sindhi women since they never brought their women with them. I saw

Sindhi women only when I came to Sind. I was familiar with the name 'bhai-bandh'. But I was rather scared by the name 'Amil'. I wondered what kind of people they would be. When I saw the Amils I found them exactly like the Sahibs. Let no one be under the impression that I am running down the Sahibs. It is only proper Sahibs should appear like Sahibs. If others try to imitate the Sahibs they would meet the fate of the jackdaw who posed as a peacock in *Aesop's Fables*. A crow is all right as it is but appears ridiculous when it forgets itself and imitates someone else. Thus, how nice would it be if we confine ourselves to the Indian way of living. It was not Dadabhai but Lord Curzon who said that the annual per capita income in India was Rs. 40. This average includes the income of the millionaires also. This means that 30 million have no income at all. They sustain themselves by begging and eat only the crumbs of bread they get. How should we live in a country which is so poor? We will find that we are not wealthy enough to live like Sahibs if we look at our average per capita income. We must realize that we can look well-clad only if we wear khadi. If the girls are keen on silk saris and laces they would be at the mercy of the boys. Here, the boys accept the brides only if they bring thousands of rupees and with this money they want to go to Oxford to get degrees.

The very fact that you have invited me and are presenting me a purse implies your pledge that you would work for the Harijans. If that is not true and you want to exonerate yourselves by giving money, then that money is worthless. This work cannot be accomplished by money alone. You must give your heart along with money. Money alone will achieve nothing if your heart is not willing. Have you taken a vow of such service? If you have done so, I will tell you what to do. You would become humble and simple. And you would go to the Harijan children and treat them as your own. These children, their bodies, their noses and their mouths are so full of dirt and they stink so much that you can go to them only in simple dress. If you wish to work in India and among the Harijans, you have to do it with humility and without being proud of your learning—only then can you succeed. I have visited seven or eight Harijan colonies in Karachi. Two or three of these places were quite good. I would like to congratulate the people of Karachi on that. But there are two or three other places where you would never stay. The huts there are on the point of collapsing. There is no light and no sun. The sun can be rarely seen from there. People are living under great hardships. Those people approached me and requested

me to arrange for houses for them. You can do a lot of work if you go among such people. I do not suggest that you should give up your studies and go there. You should do this work in your spare time. Dr. Dutt, the Principal of the Forman Christian College of Lahore, has written to me that some boys from his college go and do Harijan work every day. I was delighted to read the report of the work done by the students of the Agra College. The Principal of that college also does the same work and sends me a report. The students of the Dehra Dun College devote their vacation to this work. Those boys asked me as to what they should do about the problem of the left-over food. I wrote[1] to them it was a sin to give our left-over food to the sweepers and it should be stopped and they stopped it. The sweepers then said that they must have the left-overs. Just money would not be enough. We have got to serve the sweepers even if they persist in bad habits.

How is such service possible? Only a person with a pure heart and good faith can take up this work. It cannot be done by merely making the Harijans conscious of their economic conditions. Dr. Ambedkar is such an intelligent and clever lawyer that he puts to shame many others. He is able to touch the hearts of many people by his sharp intelligence. The magnitude of his sacrifice is great. He is absorbed in his own work. He leads a simple life. He is capable of earning one to two thousand rupees every month. He is also in a position to settle down in Europe if he so desires. But he doesn't want to stay there. He is only concerned about the welfare of the Harijans. But what is the condition of even a man like him in our society today? He says: "If I go to Poona to attend the Assembly session, I have to stay in a hotel and spend the entire amount of the daily allowance of Rs. 10, whereas the others can stay with their friends and save that money. There is no Hindu family in Poona which would accept me as a colleague or a friend." Whose shame is this? How can one who has been put to such treatment be won over? At the same time we have to touch the heart of Shankaracharya. Those two are poles apart. How can they be brought together? We stand between these two. Would we be able to impress them by our learning? What would I do if Ambedkar says, 'You are traitors; I shall follow the path of violence'? I would have to bend my head and say: 'Here is my neck for your sword. I must expiate for the sins of my ancestors.' Again, should I go before Shankaracharya and recite the Vedas? He would say: 'You

[1] *Vide* Vol. LIV, pp. 264-6.

have no right to recite the Vedas.' But, surely, he cannot say that I am not entitled to make any sacrifice, or be humble? Hence, we have to win over both of them with our sacrifice and tolerance.

You had the portrait of the late Vithalbhai unveiled by me. But what good has it done to you? Your Principal said that Vithalbhai was one of the greatest servants of India. There is no doubt about it. No one can deny the work he did in the Bombay Municipal Corporation, the Bombay Legislative Assembly and the Central Legislative Assembly. His courage, his ability, his sacrifice were second to none. Moreover, he presided over the [Central] Legislative Assembly like a *rishi*. No one could surpass him in simplicity. He was a scholar and a great barrister. Had he been corrupt, he would have made lakhs of rupees. But he did not have much money. He used to send me a large portion of the salary he received as the President of the Central Legislative Assembly. It was a fairly large sum and the interest from it is added to it. I have not yet been able to decide how best I can use it. You have made me unveil today the portrait of such a person. But having done that you cannot claim that you have, thereby, discharged your debt to Vithalbhai. He had accepted the Harijans as his own people and used to mix with them. He was present in the Harijan colony at Godhra when the first Harijan meeting was held there. I did not recognize him at first, because he was dressed like an ascetic. He did not feel that being a barrister it was beneath his dignity to visit the Harijan colony.

I have laid down for you the conditions for doing Harijan work. I suggested to you how to put your education to the best use. I also told you that you must keep away from the evil custom of taking and giving [dowry]. No matter how many progressive boys and girls there may be in Sind, I would say that that is meaningless and the dust would remain dust[1] so long as there is a single young man who is a victim of this bad custom. You have to wear khadi if you wish to serve *Daridranarayana*. May God grant you good sense and may you turn out to be worthy servants of India.[2]

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 22-7-1934

[1] A Gujarati saying which means: 'There will be no improvement.'

[2] After the speech, an auction of rings and bangles given by women students of the college fetched a considerable amount.

189. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

KARACHI,
July 11, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

These days I cannot write to you when I propose to do so. I commenced this letter at 5.30 a.m. after breakfast. Just then a Parsi lady came in with her 15-year-old daughter. The latter has won the first place in tennis in the whole of India, but she has now lost interest in worldly things. Her interest now is all in religion. She, therefore, urged her mother to bring her to see me. She gave ten rupees for the Harijan Fund and has now left after obtaining my autograph.

Please do not be unhappy at the news of my fast. It is absolutely necessary. Large crowds come to the meetings and sanatanists are on the war-path. People do not tolerate their conduct and, therefore, trouble is bound to follow. People will not listen to mere exhortations. One can convey one's message to vast masses of people only by fasting. Crowds at the meetings are larger than ever before and it is very difficult to control them. Seven days will pass without any difficulty. Please don't worry in the least. My health is perfectly all right. In spite of heavy pressure of work, the blood-pressure remains round about 150. That should be considered very good. The weight is 104. I shall be happy if the rest of the tour is completed without further trouble. August will be taken up by the fast and the gradual return to normal diet. After that as God wills.

I must get a detailed report about your health. I am writing to Dahyabhai to send me one.[1]

I learnt yesterday about Mani having been released. Mahadev and Pyarelal will join me at Lahore. That will increase the size of the party. Kakasaheb has joined it at Hyderabad. It is quite desirable that all three of them should be with me at present. Narahari will not be coming. If I can stay at a fixed place, I can meet everybody. Let God's will prevail.

[1] *Vide* the following item.

Ba keeps good health. She manages to secure the food that she needs. At any rate, in such matters nothing is likely to escape Thakkar Bapa's attention.

Ramdas's trouble is mental, and mental illness cannot but have an effect on the body. At present he is following . . .'s[1] advice. He has been considerably reduced. The fact that he has three children also worries him. What is ordained will happen. Devdas's Lakshmi keeps fairly good health.

I had long discussion with . . .[2] and others. Just now they are not likely to listen to any advice. The new wind is intoxicating beyond measure. They will come to their senses only when that intoxication has subsided. Swami parted from us at Viramgam. He will now take up constructive work in the suburbs.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 110-1

190. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI PATEL

KARACHI,
July 11, 1934

CHI. DAHYABHAI,

Let me have detailed news about Vallabhbhai's health[3] by return of post.

Ask Manibehn to write to me in detail about her health.[4] Mahadev of course will bring all news.[5]

I hope you are doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

DAHYABHAI VALLABHBHAI PATEL
RAMNIVAS, PAREKH STREET, BOMBAY 4

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 160

[1] & [2] The names are omitted in the source.

[3] He was released from the Nasik Jail on July 14, 1934 on grounds of health.

[4] Manibehn Patel was released from the Belgaum Jail on July 8, 1934.

[5] Mahadev Desai was released from the Belgaum Jail on July 9, 1934.

191. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

July 11, 1934

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

I got your letter[1]. I went through your article[2] with as much attention as I could command in this excitement. I found the last paragraph against the spirit of peace. I have, therefore, omitted it and concluded the article with two new sentences. [The new sentences are:]

> Whether this consummation can be reached through the Parliamentary effort remains to be seen. Its success will largely depend on the verdict of the voters.[3]

If you approve of these changes, you may adopt them and use the article.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C W. 7546. Courtesy: K. M Munshi. Also *Pilgrimage to Freedom*, p. 376

[1] Dated July 7, 1934

[2] This was entitled, "Our objective: A Constituent Assembly". The last two paragraphs of the article read: "Thus the Constituent Assembly has come to play an important part in modern political life. The Congress stands for such an Assembly, for, it alone can be the symbol of India's freedom and the source of her people's strength. Through it India hopes to attain the dignity of an enfranchised nation, fashion its will to self-determination and find its own soul to express it through fundamental laws.

"Congressmen will fight the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly on the issue of Constituent Assembly. They will have nothing to do with Simon Commission pretending to sit in judgment over our ability to govern ourselves. They will have no more to do with Round Tables where nominees of Government speak the language of patriots and follow in the footsteps of flunkeys. They will aim at educating public opinion on the question of the Constituent Assembly. And in the Assembly they will solely work to create a situation whereby an Indian Constituent Assembly would become an accomplished fact. The path to such a goal does not necessarily lie through bloodshed. It often lies through a determined bloodless conflict leading to a treaty between two nations which have learnt to respect each other."

[3] These two sentences are reproduced from *Pilgrimage to Freedom*.

192. INTERVIEW TO SIND JOURNALISTS[1]

KARACHI,
July 11, 1934

Mr. Punniah[2] at the outset said that the reasons adduced for embarking on his new fast were not convincing and that he should not undertake another fiery ordeal close on the heels of a strenuous Harijan tour. Gandhiji replied:

The movement is of tremendous importance. Nothing but a drastic measure like fasting can meet the situation. You can influence the mass mind not through speeches or writings but only by something which is most well understood by the masses, that is suffering, and the most acceptable method is that of fasting. My repeated experience here and in South Africa has been that, when well applied, it has been the most infallible remedy. My lot has been cast with the masses, and I have always to take work from and through them. The only language they understand is the language of the heart, and fasting when it is utterly unselfish is the language of the heart.

Gandhiji was acquainted with the news that the Bombay Congress circles viewed with alarm his contemplated fast and Congress friends were of opinion that the strain would be too much. Gandhiji smilingly answered:

I have no such fears, and physically speaking a fast after an exhaustive tour can only benefit the person who has undertaken the tour.

But then there is the risk.

Of course, I am risking. I am not taking this fast for its physical effect. Physically speaking, there is some kind of risk, because my body does not require a fasting cure. Any fast must require some risk, otherwise it has no meaning. It must involve torture of the flesh.

The decision is irrevocable. I announced[3] at the Ajmer meeting that I would undertake some sort of penance. The announcement was long overdue. I reasoned with myself and with my

[1] The source had reproduced the interview from *Sind Observer*.

[2] Editor, *Sind Observer*, and President of Sind Journalists' Association

[3] *Vide* pp. 144-5.

friends and then came to the deliberate conclusion that fasting was the only penance that I should make. Then the question was that of duration. I would have undertaken a longer fast. I do not want to produce any unnecessary shocks, and therefore I did not undertake the maximum period. Friends who at the present moment are physically near me have realized the necessity of the fast.

Does it include also Kasturba?

Yes. It has been my rare fortune that in all such matters she has never worried me, never argued with me, and has allowed me to have my own way, although she has felt the distress. Therefore although she is my wife, I have not hesitated to say that she is one of the bravest women I have ever met in this respect.

Mr. Punniah then asked him about his views on the Sind separation issue, over which the people of this province were greatly agitated. Gandhiji with a significant laughter and a nod of his head remarked:

Now, you are taking me out of my depths. It is not to be answered before the 3rd of August.

But then you have been participating in political discussions.

Yes. But it was not for public consumption. I am glad that a reference has been now made to it, and that I got an opportunity for expressing my sorrow at the breach of confidence indulged in by some young journalists who were permitted to be present at the Congress at the Khalikdina Hall meeting. I told them that the proceedings ought not to be reported. I consider that it is a breach of confidence to have reported unauthorized statements, and I felt that those who broke that promise had not observed the fundamental etiquette of journalism and it was gross impropriety. I have a fairly high notion of the journalistic profession.

Has not the Harijan movement estranged the community from national politics?

No. Not in the slightest degree. Because, some people have used this movement as a cloak to divert the mind of the people from real politics. As it is well known, I don't believe in watertight compartments. Politics, religion, social reform, economic uplift all these form parts of a whole.

Answering critics who are of the view that Council-entry was a concession to weakness and that in his heart of hearts Gandhiji had no faith in such a programme, Gandhiji said:

I have no such superiority complex. It is not a concession to weakness. It is a concession to hard facts. That I have myself no faith in the Council programme in terms of swaraj is a different matter. I should be sorry that those who have faith in Council-entry were by any act of mine prevented from acting according to their faith. It was, therefore, a matter of pleasure for me to help those Congressmen who had faith in Council-entry programme to follow out their policy.

The talk then turned to the Communal Award. Asked what course he would adopt at the Benares meeting of the Congress Working Committee, Gandhiji said:

Pandit Malaviya, Bapu Aney and others have felt aggrieved over the Working Committee resolution. For my part I have seen nothing to alter my view. But I would, consistently with my belief in the correctness of the Working Committee resolution, go any length to retain the valuable co-operation of Panditji and other friends. The more I think of the Working Committee resolution, the more I think that for the Congress it is the only correct attitude possible.

Mr. Punniah said that the bomb of fast was hurled in a country which was already apprehensive that unless Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were released he may court jail again after 3rd August. The public wanted an assurance that he would not go to jail again as there was a lot of important national work to be attended to.

I honestly say that it is a matter not in my hands at all. I don't thereby mean to say that it is in the hands of the Government, though it would be true to a certain extent if I said so. However, at the present moment, what I wish to say is that it is surely in the hands of God. I have no fixed notions of what I should do after the fast and the convalescence after it is over. You should believe me implicitly when I say that I should be guided by the inner voice.

To a question from a journalist he replied:

My impressions of the Sind tour have been very happy. I should have been happier if I could beg more money.[1]

[1] What follows is reproduced from *The Tribune*, 13-7-1934, which had reported that a sum of Rs. 30 was collected on the spot and presented to Gandhiji.

I do not want to rob you of what little you get. At least give me your pencils.

The Tribune, 13-7-1934 and 15-7-1934

193. SPEECH AT PARSIS' MEETING, KARACHI[1]

July 11, 1934

Whenever I come to you I do not at all feel that I am a guest, but amidst Parsis I am amidst members of my own family. My close relations with the Parsis are of long standing. It is not as if these relations began with me. I have inherited them from my elders. My father's personal friends included many Parsis. I have accepted money from you. But you have been giving away money to all the world. You are known as donors of the first order. You have received this certificate not from a Parsi but from an English writer. You have fully earned that certificate. But you have given me something more than money. I have been able to steal your hearts. I have always felt that I have a place in the hearts of the Parsis. Even if I am invited to a Parsi meeting or family out of courtesy, I would make it a point to attend it. I am and I have always been confident that any time I want some public service from you, I shall be able to get it. Hence, I could not have declined your invitation this time. Bhai Sidhva[2] has already explained to you that my physical and mental condition does not permit me to attend any meetings. I do not like to go out anywhere. I prefer to do my work sitting at home. If there is an occasion to go anywhere on foot I would like to walk from village to village spreading my message through conversation and that would give me enough satisfaction. But I could not decline your invitation.

After saying this much, let me come to the work I want you to do. The Chairman has given you some idea about it. The fact that from the activities going on here he selected only two suggests that I am going to ask for those very things from you—khadi and prohibition. You must understand what these two things mean. You have got into the habit of giving away money as donation, and so, you are sure to give it. But when something be-

[1] The meeting was held at Jahangir Rajkotwala Gardens. This appeared under the title: "To the Parsis of Karachi".

[2] R. K. Sidhva, Secretary, Parsi Rajkiya Mandal. He gave an account of the activities of the Mandal.

comes a matter of habit it loses its virtue. If a man always speaks the truth it is not a trait cultivated in childhood but his inborn nature. It is in your nature to give away money. It would be a novel thing if you do something more. That is why when I came to you last time I told you that if you wished to make some tangible sacrifice, you must give up your fondness for city life. Your population throughout the world is of about one lakh. Out of this the majority is in India and that too mainly in Bombay and Gujarat. You do business worth millions of rupees and naturally you have become one with the cities. One can see your impact very much in Bombay and Karachi. But what about the villages? Your impact does not reach the villages. And it is quite evident that it is not felt there. If the Parsis scatter themselves in seven lakh villages they would be completely lost, for, there would be one Parsi for every seven villages. Moreover, this population of one lakh includes men, women and children. Hence, you cannot reach all the villages. But you can certainly influence them [through supporting khadi].

The khadi which the villagers produce is meant not only for the Hindus and Muslims but also for the Parsis. Hence you can reach and influence the villages by using the khadi produced there. You know that men and women in Utkal walk four to five miles in the hope of obtaining rice worth one pice or some work. Just think of their plight. I have received a letter from Utkal today in which it is said that it is possible to do a lot of khadi work there; but from where to get the workers? And, who would use that khadi? I am at least having a loin-cloth. Those men in Utkal do not have even that. What they are wearing cannot be called a loin-cloth. They are merely rags. How can these people bathe? They must at least have a change of clothes after their bath. They have to carry on with just one loin-cloth. Millions of people live in such conditions. If I can provide them work for a pice, they would be able to get something at any rate. In Utkal I met ten thousand weavers. They told me that nobody bought the cloth they had woven. Those weavers had been weaving mill yarn. I had to tell them that I would become their customer if they would weave khadi out of hand-spun yarn. Moreover they would have to spin themselves. What charity can you give when conditions of such poverty and starvation prevail and where people are ready to work for a pice and ask for so little? They cannot fill their stomachs with cash and they would become invalids. How can one give charity to anyone who is able to work? He can be given charity only in terms of work. Hence I told them

that they must work and take their wages and buy cheap rice. We can even give them that rice at subsidized price. So much can be and has been done. Many of them, therefore, have not accepted alms and have taken up work. I want such pure charity from you. Yon have given money and will give more. But I would not be satisfied with that much. I would be satisfied only if you would serve *Daridranarayana.* They would not come to ask for alms. You should provide them with work.

What work can be provided for millions of men? There should be some home industry for them. That industry can only be the spinning-wheel. And it can thrive on if you would buy the khadi made by the millions. If you visit the local Khadi Bhandar you would get any type of khadi, in any colour and of a fine texture. No Parsi woman would be able to say that she cannot get the type of khadi that she would like to have or would suit her. If you have forgotten or do not know it, let me tell you that there are 75 Parsi women in Bombay who maintain themselves by doing khadi embroidery. Dadabhoy's granddaughters have engaged them for that work. Mithubehn Petit also does similar work. She has gone to the villages. In Bombay the women earn [daily] wages of one, two and even three rupees out of this kind of work.

These women print designs and embroider khadi and thereby make it acceptable to the women who are fond of these things. You can help these women. Bhai Sidhva has, while talking about khadi, stated that you women buy not foreign cloth but swadeshi mill cloth. You only fill the coffers of the millonaires. I have not come here to beg on behalf of the millionaires, but I ask for donations on behalf of *Daridranarayana.* And that too not donations in the form of money. You must appreciate the craftsmanship of the poor. Adorn yourselves by wearing the khadi made by them.

Liquor was another thing that Bhai Sidhva mentioned. I was very much delighted when I learnt from your report that 80 per cent of you had given up liquor. But I heard there that this 80 per cent applies to the occasions of marriage and *navjot*[1] when liquor is not served. I had thought that it had stopped even in private homes. I would not be satisfied if it has not gone from homes. Still, whatever has happened is a good thing. But the work would be complete only when the evil of drink has disappeared from homes. Some Parsis tell me that toddy does one good rather than harm. Some may even say that the proportion of alcohol

[1] A Parsi religious ceremony where a boy or a girl is invested with the sacred thread

is more in whisky and less in toddy and lesser still if the toddy is fresh. That way even those who take beer fool themselves. I have seen drunkenness among people who take both these. It is not as if those who do not drink toddy are unhealthy and those who take it do not have to go to the doctors. I have seen a whole array of medicine bottles in the houses of some Parsi friends who are habitual toddy drinkers. So I request the Parsis and would go on requesting them till I die that they must give up this evil thing. If the Parsis in general give up liquor, those Parsis who earn their livelihood out of it would also be convinced. You are people with great enterprise. If you realize that this is not a worthy occupation, you would take up something else. I can never persuade myself to believe that the Parsi community lacks the spirit of discovery and adventure and enterprise. You are capable of finding your way where others may not.

You have given me Rs. 352 for Harijan work. In a way, I have no right to ask money from you for that work. I always ask money from you for everything. But when I take money from you for the work which is meant for the Hindus it implies something else. The direct objective of this activity is to wipe out untouchability which involves 50 million people. This is such a great corroding factor in Hinduism that it has penetrated into other fields as well and untouchability has become a widespread thing. A large number of wise Parsis come to me and say that the distinctions of high and low have always existed, and so I need not pursue this activity. I ask them: "Since when have you become such Vedantists? And when did you study the Hindu Shastras?" They might have read a few sacred books; and since the Parsis have a custom of consulting astrologers, they might have heard something from them; and from that they might have come to the conclusion that the differences of high and low have existed since time immemorial. Is untouchability something that the prophet Zoroaster preached? The feeling of high and low is something Satanic. It can never be divine. The evil that is going on in the name of Hindu religion has penetrated all religions. The same religions prevailing outside India may not have even the slightest tinge of it; but it has definitely entered those religions as soon as they landed in India. It is such a dark well. The other wide implication of removing untouchability is the feeling of brotherhood amongst all religions. It does not mean doing away with the differences among religions. Just as men have different names and faces, these religions also are different. But just as men are all human in spite of their different names and forms, just as leaves

of a tree though different as leaves are the same as leaves of the same tree, all religions though different are the same. We must treat all religions as equal. It is this lofty consequence of this activity that I have in mind. But for it I would not have decided to devote my life to this work. I am not such a fool that I would offer to sacrifice my life for a trifling job, go from village to village at the age of 65 and beg for two pice or even a pice. This work that I have begun not only means the liberation of 50 millions, but I have to melt the hardened hearts of the caste Hindus for their liberation. If those hearts can be melted, untouchability which has gone so deep and whose impact is so widespread can be eradicated. I do not hesitate or feel ashamed to take money from you for such a widespread activity.

I have shown you what the removal of untouchability should mean to you. I am of course taking this money you have offered; but along with it I wish to carry away the hearts of the Parsi men and women, and seek your blessings that God should grant me rapid success in this work.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 22-7-1934

194. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 12, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

This is being written in a moving train.

I hope you duly received a note of authority on his banker. I do not know for how much it was. You will let me know your requirement in due time.

For the whole of August at least I am free. The way before me after is not at all clear and I do not worry. He will show the next step. Andrews is due on 25th August.

You will keep your health. Please know that I shall not mind if you show no visible result from your visit to England. The experience you will gain is adequate result for me. Therefore you will not be impatient with yourself or your surroundings.

I am keeping quite well. The fatigue is there. But that is inevitable.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6191. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9757

195. *INTERVIEW TO "THE TRIBUNE"*[1]

July 12, 1934

Gandhiji, who was very tired, first hesitated to give any interview saying that his brain was not working owing to the fatigue from the strain of the journey; but being pressed to give a message to the people of the Punjab he said:

I wish I would get the quiet I am pining for in Lahore. The terrific noises that greeted me at every station have already shattered my nerves, which are now ill-fitted to stand such strain, nor are these noises conducive to the reception of the message of essential brotherhood I am struggling to deliver. I long for a suitable atmosphere for its delivery.

The Tribune, 14-7-1934

196. *TELEGRAM TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE*

[Before *July 13, 1934*][2]

YOUR KIND WIRE. THE CALCUTTA VISIT IS URGENT. FRIENDS ARE ANXIOUS FOR A SETTLEMENT OF DOMESTIC QUARRELS. ALL DATES HAVE BEEN BOOKED. PRAY FORGIVE.

GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-7-1934

[1] Gandhiji was interviewed in the train by the special correspondent who travelled with him from Samasta to Lahore.

[2] The telegram, as received by the addressee, had appeared under the date-line, "Santiniketan, July 13", 1934.

197. LETTER TO UTTAMCHAND SHAH

July 13, 1934

CHI. UTTAMCHAND,

I got your letter. Just now I don't feel like criticizing you or other co-workers for what you or they do. Maybe through the present separation itself the sincere ones will come together. Anybody who earns an honest pie will certainly be doing service thus. Please remain where you are without feeling any regret and see that both of you improve your health. When the time comes, you may return. Why do you worry about my fast?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9442

198. INTERVIEW TO PROVINCIAL CONGRESS LEADERS

LAHORE,
July 13, 1934

Provincial Congress leaders including Lala Dunichand of Ambala, Raizada Hansraj and Lala Sham Lal met Gandhiji. One of the questions discussed was that of the elimination of undesirable elements from the Congress in the new scheme of re-organization. Gandhiji admitted the existence of such elements, but he could not see his way under the present constitution of the Congress to prevent such undesirable elements from becoming members of the Congress. The only way to keep such elements in check was to strengthen the better element in the Congress.

At the same time he pointed out that at the instance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru a rule had been framed that if an office-bearer of the Congress acted in a manner prejudicial to the discipline of the Congress, he could be dealt with.

The next topic discussed was that of lack of co-operation among Congress workers and leaders. Gandhiji said that the only way in which this could be dealt with was to evolve higher character and a noble spirit of service among Congress workers.

Gandhiji was then asked how power, influence and prestige could be secured for the Congress as that alone could enable the Congress to meet

the reactionary and hostile forces in the country. It was pointed out that if the country sent higher type of men to the legislatures, that would give some additional prestige and influence to the Congress. Gandhiji agreed with this, but laid emphasis on the fact that Congressmen should acquire influence and position in the Councils by dint of their service and work.

The question of employing a large contingent of paid workers for every province next came up. Gandhiji agreed with the proposal that a large number of paid workers to carry on the work of the Congress should be employed in every province; and to some extent already there were paid men in the All-India and Provincial Congress organizations, though on a small scale. Gandhiji was requested to remove the idea prevailing among the public regarding paid workers, and he said that he would write on the subject, though he had previously written on the subject.

The question of the Communal Award was also raised. It was pointed out that if the Communal Award became an accomplished fact and a Constitution based on it became legal statute, it would become extremely difficult for any future national Government to undo the mischief that it would have done by that time. Gandhiji replied that he recognized such evils in case of effect being given to the Communal Award but he saw no solution of the problem unless all parties concerned agreed to an equitable scheme.

The Tribune, 15-7-1934

199. INTERVIEW TO HARIJAN DEPUTATION

LAHORE,
July 13, 1934

That he was maturing the scheme to start an Industrial Home at Delhi for the Harijans was the information conveyed by Gandhiji to the Harijan deputation that met him this afternoon.

With reference to the suggestion that the Harijan Sangh should agitate for annulment of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, Gandhiji said that Harijan Sangh being a non-political social reform body, is unable to do anything in this respect and cannot come in conflict with the Government on such political matters.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-7-1934

200. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, LAHORE[1]

July 13, 1934

I am very grateful to all of you who have presented me with the address and the purses. That which I feared has happened. This meeting was arranged exclusively for students but the general public has come in. This is not proper. Even yesterday when I saw the huge crowd I was afraid that my car would break down on the way. On work for which a quarter of an hour was enough you wasted an hour and quarter of my time. Therefore, in future, only those for whom a meeting is fixed should attend it. Service to Harijans is a religious undertaking and so it can be accomplished by penance alone. Such tasks can only be performed in a peaceful and quiet atmosphere. Perhaps this is my last tour of the Punjab, because I may not be able to come here again. Therefore, I should like to impress upon you [the importance of my message] as strongly as I can during this tour. I thank all the students who have shown interest in the task of service to Harijans.[2]

In your two addresses you have in all humility acknowledged your shortcomings. And for this I cannot thank you enough, however much I try. Even in order to acquire knowledge, one must recognize one's ignorance and acknowledge it in all humility. That you have acknowledged it is a good sign. Please understand the limitations and conditions of this activity. I congratulate the students of this college who are taking part in it, and hope for their greater participation. As I told[3] the students at Karachi, this work can be carried out only by self-sacrifice, penance and suffering. Moreover, the work is to be carried on not in the cities but mainly in the villages. You say that you wish to treat Harijans as your own and that you do not discriminate against them. If this is true, do your duty towards them. It is not enough that you treat the Harijan boys on equal terms in schools and colleges. Your duty consists in going to the Harijans in the villages, treating them as your own and loving them. You will realize when you go there that they have very little knowledge about rules of sanitation. Some of them are given to drinking and carrion-eating. You have to go and con-

[1] This appeared under the title: "Knowledge for Service".

[2] This paragraph is translated from *Harijan Sevak*, 20-7-1934.

[3] *Vide* pp. 163-7.

vince them. How can that be done? It is not possible by going there like sahebs. Rather, you would have to go there in simplicity and humility. In that work college education is of little use. If you carry with you the fragrance of courtesy, religious sentiment, truthfulness and abstinence, you will be able to influence them. Giving orders or feeling superior will serve no purpose. It would be done only by remaining their servants and fulfilling the conditions which I have indicated. It is enough if you can spare some time after studies.

Hinduism and the Hindu community would perish unless untouchability is eradicated. That *adharma*[1], that blemish, that poison is so widespread and it has been with us for so long that we are not able to feel its poisonous effect. But it is corroding us. A person like me sees with his naked eye that religion is well on the path of destruction. This poison has not remained confined to the Harijans. It has of course affected the 60 millions, but it has spread to the caste Hindus as well. It has also reached the Muslim and Christian communities that come in contact with us. It is most important and essential that we wipe out the difference of high and low among us.

If we want to do that work, we have to fulfil two conditions. You tell me that you indulge in pleasures, and think anxiously about examinations day and night. But you are not satisfied with what you get out of it and you are eager to improve this state of affairs. I do not wish to suggest that because you say these things you must leave your schools and colleges. But, while remaining in your schools and colleges, secure that education which is not provided there; and supplement the education imparted there. At present, the minds of the students become dull there. They can only imitate. Instead of this, they must acquire the power of independent thinking. We are born into this world not for indulging in sensuous activities but for sacrifice, for restraint. The purpose of education is that we know God and progress towards the ideal, and get closer to Him. It is the strict law of God that anyone who desires to be close to Him should renounce the world and yet be in it. This is what the first *mantra* of the *Ishopanishad* exhorts us to do. This thing is difficult and yet easy at the same time. It is easy if we believe that we have to live for service. We acquire learning not for sensuous pleasures and for earning but for *mukti*. Education is considered necessary to save ourselves from darkness, sensuous pleasures and capricious behaviour.

[1] Opposite of dharma

If we understand this, we can put our learning to good use. If you understand this much, you would not be worried about examinations. You would be calm if you succeed and not be despondent if you fail.

You have said in your address that you are given to sensuous pleasures. This implies that you have given up khadi. The fact that you have given up khadi in the Punjab where it is readily available means that you have given up *Daridranarayana*, the village and the village people. Khadi is produced by the villagers. Millions of unemployed people and those who can find no other occupation are able to earn a little by it. In my view, you have committed a grave crime by giving up khadi. You are getting education for which the villagers pay. Not every student among you pays for the education he receives. Apart from your tuition fee, there is much other expenditure incurred for you, and that money comes from the villages. You study with the help of the money from the villages, and what do you give them in return? Nothing! Wearing khadi is the least you should do. Serve *Daridranarayana* to this extent. To label anything else than khadi as swadeshi is a false claim. By calling it swadeshi you are deceiving yourselves and the world. Save yourselves from this deception.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 29-7-1934

201. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL[1]

[*July 14, 1934*]

GET EXAMINED BY DOCTOR AND AFTER TREATMENT JOIN ME AT CAWNPORE OR BENARES.

The Hindustan Times, 15-7-1934

[1] The addressee was released on health grounds from Nasik Jail on July 14, 1934.

202. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA[1]

LAHORE,
July 14, 1934

AM FOLLOWING DOCTORS' ADVICE.

BAPU

C.W. 7964. Courtesy: G D. Birla

203. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

July 14, 1934

CHI. AMALA,

I am sorry you are not at peace now at Sabarmati. Will you tell me what you would like to do? It is a terrible thing for anyone to live under a sense of humiliation.[2] I would like you therefore to make your choice. I had hoped that you would be happy in Sabarmati. One thing you would make up your mind about. You cannot stay with me, unless I can settle down anywhere for any length of time. And you won't feel happy in Wardha in any case. You should be sure also that I do not want to drive you away from me. On the contrary I want to make you happy in so far as it is within my power.

Please do not worry about my fast. It would be all right. You simply cannot understand it and its value. You will, by and by.

Love.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] The telegram was in reply to the addressee's of even date which read: "Most humbly submit you should not gamble with your health against doctors' advice."

[2] *Vide* the following item.

204. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

July 14, 1934

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

Have Budhabhai [and] Juthabhai taken up some additional work now? Try and remove Amalabehn's difficulties[1] if you can. Let me know if she is harassing you. I suppose you must have asked that girl to leave the Ashram. I hope Ramabehn is staying on there for the present.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G N. 4024

205. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

July 14, 1934

CHI. RAMA,

I have not yet been able to persuade any woman [worker] to go there[2]. I am still trying. Please regard it as your dharma to stay on till somebody relieves you. Mahadev will arrive here today. I will know more after he comes.

Write to me sometimes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5365

[1] *Vide* also the preceding item.
[2] Wardha Kanya Ashram

206. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

July 14, 1934

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter. I see no need for your coming to Wardha, but you may come if you cannot control your desire. Even if you don't feel inclined to stay in the Harijan Ashram, I think it will be worthwhile to have some experience there. But I don't insist on your adopting any particular course. All I desire is that you should do what appeals to you and that, having made your choice, you should stick to it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9403. Also C.W. 649. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

207. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

July 14, 1934

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Your letter. There is not a trace of anger behind the action taken about Ramnarayan. This affair makes a fast imperative, of this I am fully convinced. Not to undertake one would be only a sign of weakness. There is no other way than fasting to make the public understand. I am tangibly experiencing every moment the degree of violence in people's hearts.

I got your wire and have already replied to it.[1] I am treading most carefully. The doctors are fully confident that I am harbouring no disease; and they do not want to restrain me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Dr. Bidhan's resignation may well be accepted. Write to Satisbabu. If you find it inconvenient, don't come to Calcutta. In any case we shall meet at the station.

From Hindi: C.W. 7965. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] *Vide* p. 185.

208. SPEECH AT WOMEN STUDENTS' MEETING, LAHORE

July 14, 1934

I am grateful to you for the purses you have presented me for the service of the Harijans. One sister has presented me a garland[1] of yarn. I felt very sad when I saw this garland. It seems as if the sister who made this garland had no idea of the science of spinning. This yarn can be put to no use. As soon as yarn is spun it should be made into spools. The state of this yarn is exactly as pitiable as our condition. We are ourselves responsible for it. The self is its own friend and also its own enemy. This applies to girls, women and men equally. I have had the acquaintance of countless girls during my tours. From the point of view of them all I am not a man but only a woman. When I was in South Africa, I had realized that if I did not serve the cause of women, all my work would remain unfinished. And perhaps this is the reason why when I go to a women's assembly, the women there think that a friend has come in their midst. I consider myself the father of thousands of girls. It has always been my endeavour to be both father and mother to girls. In this capacity I shall mention one thing to you here. Outward show and fashion is increasing among the Punjabi girls. I can see much luxury here. Although this may not be true of all, it is true of most of you. Our land is getting poorer day by day because of this destructive fashion. Our civilization too has been encouraging this luxury. If all of us fell a prey to pleasure, we shall be ruined. History teaches us that nations steeped in luxury and pleasure are destroyed. It is difficult to rise from the depths of luxury. So my entreaty to you is to give up this fashion and not to indulge in luxuries and pleasures. Unfortunately, the literature taught in our schools and colleges is also tending towards these things. But it is gratifying that this literature cannot reach the crores and only a few thousand have access to it. Just as water flows downwards people given to sensual pleasures surely head for a downfall. We do not realize this but it is eating into our vitals. If you wish to save yourselves from such suicidal pleasures, this is the time, I appeal to you to be on your guard immediately.

[1] It was made by stringing the cones of yarn together.

Now for the subject of service to Harijans. I have told[1] the boys and I say the same thing to you to devote the time you can spare from studies in the service of the Harijans. In this way so much work can be accomplished. You can help a great deal in the work for the abolition of untouchability. Khaddar you must adopt. Along with it be proficient in the art of spinning. When I visited Punjab ten years ago, I saw very fine charkhas here. But I find they are not in good condition today. It is true Orissa Province is much poorer as compared to the Punjab but culture there is better than it is here. If you wish to help a poor province like Orissa please ply the charkha. Thus you will not only spend your leisure usefully but you will be free from sensual pleasures. Do devote your spare time in the service of the Harijans and in spinning. You should always wear only khadi.[2]

Concluding, Mahatma Gandhi said that those who had ornaments on their persons should part with them for the Harijan cause. He knew that the Punjabi girls were not very fond of ornaments. He could take ornaments from other parts of India also. But those who wanted to offer their ornaments should send them on to him and those who could make monetary contribution should also give money for the Harijan purse.

[From Hindi]
Harijan Sevak, 27-7-1934

209. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, LAHORE

July 14, 1934

Gandhiji in his speech thanked the women for the addresses and purses presented[3] to him. He asked the women to remove the curse of untouchability, otherwise, he said, Hinduism would die. The women of India, he said, had always protected the religion of this country and they were embodiments of renunciation.

Gandhiji then explained the meaning of untouchability to the women. They had, he said, been cherishing the feeling of high and low amongst them so long. This feeling must be removed. Unless this was removed untouchability could not go. Tulsidas had told them the essence of religion in two words. And that was this: *daya* (charity and pity) was the foundation of all religions and that *abhiman* (pride) made them feel high and low. And when

[1] *Vide* pp. 182-4.
[2] What follows is reproduced from *The Tribune*, 16-7-1934.
[3] By the members of Rashtriya Stri Samaj and other women's organizations of Lahore

abhiman was removed from them and they took resort to *daya*, then *abhiman* was lost and they became truly religious

In the end Gandhiji appealed to the women to part with their ornaments and make monetary contributions for the Harijan cause. He also asked the women to cultivate the habit of simplicity and serve the *Daridranarayana*, because in that, he said, lay their welfare.

Gandhiji once more thanked the women and concluded his speech amidst constant noise and uproar.

The Tribune, 16-7-1934

210. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

July 15, 1934

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I have your letter.

I shall hold myself in readiness to see the Governor. I shall want also to see the editor of *The Statesman*. I shall therefore ask you to reserve some time for him too.

I suppose a public meeting for men and one for women will be necessary. And then there is the foundation of another wing or is it the opening?

There is nothing wrong with me, but I have a feeling of intense mental and physical tiredness. I love to sleep whenever I get the opportunity. But I do not worry. You will overhaul the system and take from me what work you choose and want.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
CALCUTTA

Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy. Pyarelal

211. LETTER TO VIDYA R. PATEL

July 15, 1934

CHI. VIDYA,

I got your letter. You are unnecessarily worrying. What does it matter if someone reads your letters? Surely you don't write anything of which you need feel ashamed? We should welcome our elders, guardians and teachers to read our letters. Of course we should see that nobody reads them without our knowledge. Since you have forbidden me, henceforward I will not send your letters to Bhai. But you should withdraw your ban.

We shall now be meeting in a few days. Don't get tired of that place.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9587. Courtesy: Ravindra R. Patel

212. INTERVIEW TO AKALI AND KHALSA DURBAR DEPUTATION[1]

LAHORE,
July 15, 1934

Gandhiji enquired of the deputation the cause of the retirement of Master Tara Singh from Sikh politics. Sardar Mangal Singh briefly explained the facts.

The deputationists then placed their point of view before Gandhiji regarding the Communal Award. They expressed disapproval of the non-committal policy of the Congress in the matter of Communal Award and said that the Sikhs had taken a vow not to submit to it. They, therefore, while supporting the Congress in all other matters, were determined to carry on their fight in the legislatures against the Communal Award and to otherwise safeguard Sikh rights. They informed Gandhiji that the Khalsa Durbar had decided to run their own candidates in the coming Assembly elections.

[1] According to the source, "About 50 Sikhs representing all progressive elements of the community" met Gandhiji at 9 15 a.m. Sardul Singh Caveeshar was also present

Gandhiji, who listened to the viewpoint of the Sikhs with attention, replying, explained the Congress position and said that the rejection of the White Paper meant the rejection and the lapse of the Communal Award. He added that no constitution would be acceptable to the Congress which did not satisfy the Sikhs. Similarly the Congress would not reject what the Mussalmans wanted nor could it accept what the Hindus or Sikhs rejected. Therefore if there was no Congress candidate among Sikhs, a Congress voter with conscientious scruples would abstain from voting. But if there was an otherwise safe candidate against a reactionary, he would be free to use his vote to defeat the out-and-out reactionary.

The deputationists at this stage drew the attention of Gandhiji to the necessity of issuing proper instructions to the anti-untouchability workers to restrict themselves to Harijan uplift work and to refrain from making it a religious conversion propaganda. This was needed, they said, because in the Punjab there were so-called untouchables who professed Sikh faith.

Gandhiji said that he had numerous complaints against Sikhs to the effect that they were tempting Hindu Harijans to reject Hinduism and to become Sikhs. If this was the case it was certainly reprehensible For his part he did not believe in conversion propaganda and it was no part of the Harijan Sevak Sangh's plan.

The Tribune, 18-7-1934

213. INTERVIEW TO DEPUTATION OF PUNJAB HINDUS AND SIKHS[1]

July 15, 1934

It is reported that Mahatma Gandhi admitted that an injustice had been done to the Hindus and the Sikhs, but he wanted to know a practical scheme by which the Communal Award could be scrapped or modified. The present policy of the Congress was something inevitable in the circumstances. The policy of the Congress was to accept any settlement that was agreed by all communities, even if it fell short of the national ideal.

Mahatma Gandhi assured the deputation that he was thinking of the matter night and day and had come to the conclusion that the only way to modify the Award was to get the White Paper scrapped.

The Hindustan Times, 16-7-1934

[1] The source had reported: "The deputation, which was led by Raja Narendranath, waited on Gandhiji in the afternoon to convey to him the resentment of the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab in respect of the non-committal policy of the Congress about the Communal Award."

214. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, LAHORE[1]

July 15, 1934

Ever since I first came to the Punjab, the Punjabis have showered their love on me. They have always met me in their thousands but this time their numbers have been much greater than before, so much so the D. A. V. College Hostel ground is unable to accommodate this vast assembly. To me this phenomenon is very satisfactory; for I have not come today with a political mission but for a mission which is purely religious and which I have been carrying on in a purely religious spirit. The vast numbers that attend the meetings are to me a sign that it will be well with both the country and Hinduism. There is no end to our difficulties but the vast meetings that I have been addressing leave no doubt in my mind that we shall be able to remove untouchability root and branch. I have seen during my tour that thousands have attended the morning prayer; the sight that I witnessed at this morning's prayer would have moved anyone and would have inspired faith even in an atheist. They were about 10,000 in number but pin-drop silence prevailed and they sat with rapt attention for about 25 minutes and I presume they thought of God alone in those moments. All these experiences have deepened my faith in God and I feel that I am but an instrument in His hand. He seems to have ordained that untouchability, which held its sway over Hindu society for hundred of years, should now be abolished. He seems to be bringing about a transformation in the hearts of *savarna* Hindus. This vast meeting is a testimony to that transformation.

The object of this movement is neither to score a victory over any other community nor to increase the number of Hindus. It is essentially a movement of self-purification and of ridding Hinduism of the blot of untouchability. I see that you are unable to sit quiet and probably you are not satisfied with seeing me for these few minutes. I tell you, however, that I am made of common clay as much as you are and you will be able to gain nothing by merely seeing me. You will gain much only if you act up to what I say.

[1] The source had reported that this was a summary of Gandhiji's speech obtained from his secretary by one of its representatives. Gandhiji was inaudible at the meeting.

I repeat what I have said from a thousand platforms that, if we did not remove untouchability, both Hinduism and Hindus would perish.

The Tribune, 18-7-1934

215. LETTER TO ABUL KALAM AZAD

July 16, 1934

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

I have your letter. Of course I shall gladly see the Governor during my stay in Calcutta and do whatever is possible. Dr. Bidhan wrote to me two days ago.

The fast had to come. Such was God's will. So long as He desires service from me, I shall be unhurt.

I reach there 19th morning.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD
19-A BALLYGUNJ CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

216. LETTER TO BISHOP OF CALCUTTA

LAHORE,
July 16, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter. So long as He wants me to live, nothing can harm me. This faith has found root firm in me.

Whether I have opposed the Government or the popular will, I have believed in God's guidance.

After all I am going to Calcutta tomorrow. I know I shall miss you there.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE METROPOLITAN BISHOP OF CALCUTTA
THE CHURCH IMPERIAL CLUB
75 VICTORIA STREET
WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W. 1

Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

217. *LETTER TO DILIP KUMAR ROY*

July 16, 1934

MY DEAR DILIP,

I have your letter and enclosures. The letter came into my hands only yesterday. It went first to Bombay and then by oversight remained with one of my helpers for some days.

My difficulty is fundamental. I do not believe that my present activity is less conducive to self-realization or merger in the Divine than abstention would be. Sannyasa is not cessation of all physical activity. It means to me cessation of all activity, mental or physical that is selfish. If I could be convinced that cessation is the better way for me, I should adopt it at once.

I am no judge of poetry. Of what use, therefore, can be any opinion of mine on your poems! I have really no opinion to offer. But now Mahadev is free. He is himself a poet. And he will, I doubt not, give you his opinion after I have explained the thing to him.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SRI DILIP KUMAR ROY
SRI AUROBINDO ASHRAM
PONDICHERRY

Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

218. *LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

LAHORE,
July 16, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I never expected that you would be released. The Government and we both have been following our own ways independently of each other. That is good in a way. People will know what both of us mean. After you have studied the whole situation I will ask for your view as an impartial judge. You may seem to agree out of loyalty as a co-worker, but the truth is that the habit of

agreeing with all that I do is not likely to have been cured by a few years of imprisonment.

I like your decision to come only after you have got your nose trouble completely cured. Your presence at Benares is certainly necessary, but we will do without you if the condition of your nose does not permit you to come.

It wouldn't have been advisable to refuse to visit . . . [1]. Our workers also desired that I should go. He will gain nothing by my visit. It is true, however, that the atmosphere at Ajmer and elsewhere is full of violence. You will hear echoes of it even there.

I found Lalnath to be the best man in that part. He is brave, too. He always kept his word. But of course he did criticize and abuse me. Everybody has a right to do that. This is not the first time that he was assaulted. His men also have been assaulted. But he has never lodged a complaint with the police. Generally he and his men do not even ask for police protection. Moreover, he has good control over his men. If I had not kept strict control over our workers, Lalnath and his men would have sustained serious injuries and our cause would have suffered. Only today I received a letter from somebody who says he had played a part in inciting people against Lalnath. He wants to know what he should do to atone for his lapse. He is one of our best workers. He is a writer and a poet. Tell me now, was I not right in announcing a fast? Whom should I consult in such matters? And where? If a person is bitten by a snake, would a physician who knows the remedy argue about its merits with other people or would he apply it straightaway? Surely it can give me no pleasure to take such steps without consulting co-workers. But I find myself helpless in such cases. Ghanshyamdas had wired to me requesting that he should be consulted before I took any decision. I, therefore, wrote[2] to him. He left the decision to me. Devdas suggested a four-day fast. Jairamdas[3] felt that a fast was necessary, and advised that, if I did fast, it should not be for a period of less than seven days. Bapa[4] did not oppose the idea. As for Chandrashankar, poor man, how could he oppose me? Kaka[5] couldn't find any argument to oppose me. The great task on which we have embarked cannot be accomplished without undertaking such fasts. There is no limit to the awakening among the people.

[1] The name is omitted in the source.
[2] *Vide* p. 187.
[3] Jairamdas Doulatram
[4] A V. Thakkar
[5] D. B Kalelkar

In Lahore and other places I see crowds such as I have never seen before.

I do feel convinced about one thing. You should force me to stop travelling by rail and car, let me stay at one place and tour on foot—if, that is, I am out of jail—which I shall be during August.[1] After that Rama alone knows.

Andrews will arrive here on the 25th. Swami will give you enough news and Chandrashankar also will write.

I am going to Calcutta, purely for cleaning our house there. But I had a letter from Dr. Bidhan Roy telling me that most probably I would have to see the Governor. That possibility was certainly there. Agatha and others had strongly pressed for a meeting. Now it seems to have become a cerainty. The discussion will be exclusively about the terrorism in Bengal. More after the meeting. And since Mahadev is with me now, you will get all the news you want.

Mani[2] should get very strong again. This time, however, her health does seem to have suffered fairly. She is only putting on a brave face. I am not writing to her separately today.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
SHRIRAM MANSION
SANDHURST ROAD, BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 112-4

219. LETTER TO PADMA

[*July 16, 1934*][3]

CHI. PADMA,

What kind of a girl you are! You are lazy and don't write to me but expect me nevertheless to write to you. Even so, I would have certainly written. But I have no time. I got your letter today and I am replying to you. It is good that you kept

[1] Gandhiji proposed to go on a week's fast from August 7; *vide* p. 159.
[2] Manibehn Patel
[3] From the G. N. Register

good health even in the heat. Don't let your handwriting deteriorate. . . .[1]

From a photostat of the Gujarati. G N 6148. Also C W 3504 Courtesy Prabhudas Gandhi

220. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

July 16, 1934

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

I had got your article about impolite names. I have been wanting to write on the subject. At present I don't get even a single moment. I cannot write anything for *Harijan* or *Harijanbandhu.* But I will certainly write about impolite names. I hope you do spin.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. DAHAYABHAI MANORDAS PATEL
DHOLKA

From Gujarati. C W. 2704. Courtesy. Dahyabhai M. Patel

221. LETTER TO GOPABANDHU CHOWDHRY

July 16, 1934

BHAI GOPABANDHUBABU,

I have your letters. It is good that you have resolved to go to the countryside. I have not been able to read all about the workers. I shall write when I have done it.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI GOPABANDHU CHOWDHRY
CHANDNI CHOWK
CUTTACK

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2781

[1] The rest of the letter is illegible in the source.

222. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 17, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I thank you for your letter enclosing cheque for £ 54-4-3 for the Bihar earthquake relief on behalf of the Indian Medical Association of Great Britain. I am forwarding it to Rajendrababu with instructions to send an acknowledgment to Dr. Bhandari.

I know your concern about me. God will take care of me so long as He wants to use me as His instrument. I had hoped that we would meet in Lahore. We must, some day somewhere.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
MANOR VILLE
SIMLA W.

From a photostat. G.N. 6319. Also C W. 3510. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

223. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

July 17, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. I get frightened when I think of your responsibilities on the one hand and your ear-trouble on the other. Now that Vallabhbhai has been released, I expect that the burden on you will become lighter in a month or so. It will be enough if you do the best you can without worrying about anything. Do what you can about Bihar. There are things which we cannot improve, do what we will. I will explain this when we meet. Only you can bring about some improvement, if at all, in Mahendrababu's management. I cannot understand the problems. I shall be able to understand the account relating to Bihar.

I read the article criticizing the Ashram. No reply is necessary. If we can safeguard the Ashram, everything will be well. We will solve the problem. You may write to Gangabehn and

Prema if you wish. The chances of their coming are remote. The latter has developed new interests now. It can do no good to press anybody to come against her wishes. Butow continues to write to me. He is trying to see you.

I am well. You should have no fear regarding my fast. It is clear that it is absolutely necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2936

224. *LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI*

July 17, 1934

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

Please do not worry about the fast I have to take up in August. God will see me through it. Don't worry about attempts on my life either. They are nothing new. I have survived such attempts so far and will survive them as long as God wills. When He wills otherwise, a mere yawn will end my life.

Ramdas doesn't keep good health. He will improve if he goes there. Can he and a vaid accompanying him get permission to go there? If it is possible, please secure it and send it here. The companion's name is Raghunandan Sharma.

I am writing this letter from Lahore. We are leaving this place today. Devdas is here. Mahadev, who has been released, Pyarelal and Kakasaheb are with me. It is, therefore, a family gathering, so to say.

I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4822

225. *SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, LAHORE*[1]

July 17, 1934

I want you to keep up the practice you have now started of beginning your day's work with early morning prayers as you have been doing with me these few days. You may have them either privately in your own respective homes or congregationally in some central place in your localities. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this prayer. When one begins the day with a devout prayer all his day's work will be informed with a spirit of purity and prayerfulness. The time for it is the early hour of the dawn when the sun, the most luminous of God's manifestations, reveals to us His witnessing presence in all that we do.

I shall tell you now one or two marks of a genuine worshipper of God. One is a spirit of friendliness and brotherhood for the oppressed and the depressed. This cannot express itself better than by befriending the Harijan and you cannot befriend him in a better way than by getting off his back, so that he may no longer remain the beast of burden and the downtrodden creature that we have kept him for ages, and that he may breathe and move free.

The other mark is the service of *Daridranarayana*—India's starving millions among whom are included, of course, the Harijans, but whereas the poorest of the poor, if he is not an untouchable, may move about free wherever he pleases, even the richest Harijan may not enter a Hindu temple and use a public well. Whilst, therefore, the service of the Harijans lies in the eradication of untouchability, the service of the poor lies in enabling him to find work and to add to his scanty income. The best way to do this thing is the habitual use of khaddar and daily sacrificial spinning. If all the women of the Punjab were to make a resolve to give all their spare time to spinning, I am sure they would be able not only to clothe the whole of the Punjab but also to send out cloth to other provinces.

If you do these two things, I should unhesitatingly say that you are going nearer to God every day, provided that all that you do is done not for show or self-advertisement but in a spirit of service and humanity. There is a third thing which also I would declare

[1] The source had reported that this was "a translation made by Mahadev Desai".

to be the distinguishing mark of a man of prayer—the spirit of silence. The noise and the din of meetings jar on me wherever I go. You should all make a point of avoiding all bustle and noise and cultivating a spirit of orderliness and discipline. These are three out of the many implications of prayer which I want you all to bear in mind.

The Tribune, 19-7-1934

226. DISCUSSION WITH VOLUNTEERS[1]

July 17, 1934

Gandhiji, in the course of a short speech said that the volunteers spent a lot of their time in looking after his personal comforts wherever he went. They should instead look to their general duty and service of which they had taken a vow to fulfil.

Questioned, Gandhiji said he had no objection to the volunteers taking military training, but they must abstain from violence. He asked them not to use violence even if women were attacked by the mob, because he thought that women were not helpless and they were strong enough to take care of themselves[2]

The Tribune, 19-7-1934

227. DISCUSSION WITH FRONTIER LEADERS[3]

July 17, 1934

Gandhiji has advised the fullest voluntary obedience of the law in pursuance of the Congress decision.

This, it is understood, has been definitely promised by the Frontier leaders, who are anxious to do nothing to weaken Gandhiji's hands and give Congress prestige a shock[4]

The delegation conveyed the love and respect of the Frontier people for Mahatma, who also reciprocated his feeling of love for Frontier Pathans.

[1] Gandhiji met the volunteers in the morning at Lajpat Rai Bhavan

[2] The report concluded: "The women volunteers who were present supported Gandhiji's view and the meeting came to a close"

[3] The source had reported that the Frontier Province Congressmen, representing the districts of Peshawar, Bannu, Kohat and Hazara, met Gandhiji in the morning They were led by Pir Shahen Shah, President, Frontier Congress Committee.

[4] What follows is reproduced from *The Bombay Chronicle*.

Mahatma Gandhi expressed his desire to visit the Frontier Province and told the delegation:

I regard Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, as dear to my heart as Devdas.

Finally, Gandhiji conveyed his message of love to the Frontier people through them and said, he could never forget them in his life and their particular difficulties and troubles were ever in his mind.

The Hindustan Times, 18-7-1934; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 18-7-1934

228. SPEECH TO PUNJAB NATIONALIST WORKERS, LAHORE

July 17, 1934

Gandhiji said it was harder to carry out their programme of work than to go to jail. He himself found it much easier to go to jail and spend a quiet time there reading his books and drinking goat's milk than to carry out a strenuous and taxing programme in the country Gandhiji added humourously that Mrs Gandhi had suggested to him to go to jail and have an easier time there than tire himself out with strenuous work outside.

Mahatma Gandhi added that their programme had to be worked out now and it would be wrong to think that they could wait till swaraj was achieved for completing it. He advised the workers to distribute the work among themselves and carry it out sincerely. Let truth be their motto and work would prosper This was a time of peace and their message should be one of peace Referring to the reception given to him at Lahore on his arrival, Gandhiji said he was slightly hurt physically by those who wanted to touch his feet. He could well meet crowds of thousands of people if there was no noise Swaraj could not be attained by noise

The Hindustan Times, 18-7-1934

229. SPEECH TO KHADI WORKERS, LAHORE

July 17, 1934

Addressing the khadi workers, Gandhiji described khadi as *annapurna* (the butter part of food), for, if our peasants took to spinning, they could have butter to add to their bread or rice. The other cottage industries could support thousands at the most, while khadi was an indispensable cottage industry for crores. Khadi could bring about an automatic adjustment between the supply and the demand, for the peasants would mainly produce it for themselves and their neighbours and but little transportation would be necessary. He had found out that they could have first-class, cheap khadi, if weaver families spun the yarn to be woven by themselves. Again, if a producer of cotton wanted cloth free of cost, he had only to carry out himself all the processes from picking the cotton to weaving. This would not take the bread out of the weaver's mouth, because, if the whole of India took to khadi, they would need twice as many weavers as there were now. Khadi was the only swadeshi cloth; it was pure humbug to describe Indian mill-cloth as swadeshi in the same breath as khadi.[1]

Till now I have been very lenient but henceforward I cannot but be strict. I recruited to the Charkha Sangh even those who did not know spinning in the hope that good workers would be found only from among such people. I have now come to the conclusion that the latitude shown has been quite enough. Every worker of the Charkha Sangh must learn and become fully proficient in ginning, carding and spinning. He should be well versed in weaving also. This will greatly facilitate our work in the villages and expedite the advent of freedom.

Harijan, 3-8-1934; also *Khadi Jagat*, May 1947

[1] What follows is translated from the Hindi report in *Khadi Jagat*

230. *INTERVIEW TO JOURNALISTS*

LAHORE,
July 17, 1934

The journalists, who numbered between twenty and thirty, desired a message from him but Gandhiji said he was not selling goods gratis and wanted them to pay the price for a message in the shape of a contribution to the Harijan Fund. A ring came forth and then a few rupees and coppers totalling Rs. 16. . . .

Gandhiji said that . . . if they were really serious about the message they should make up Rs. 50. . . .

A member of the staff of one of the papers present undertook to make up the balance required and remit it in the evening.

Gandhiji responded by saying that of course he did credit business and would give a message on that basis. . . . He said:

The extraordinary enthusiasm with which I was greeted at the Lahore railway station and which has been sustained throughout my five days stay in the Punjab has been a matter of great joy as it has been also a matter equally of great enthusiasm.

How I wish all this enthusiasm turned into the direction of a solid, continuous and constructive work. It behoves the Punjab leaders to harness this enthusiasm, which is running waste. It is a matter of joy also that the people, rich and poor alike, spontaneously came to offer their quota to the Harijan Purse Fund. To me it is a sure sign that the donors believe in the removal of the curse of untouchability from Hinduism.

Referring to morning mass prayers, Mahatma Gandhi said that there was complete silence and revered attention. That was evidently observed by vast audiences when verses were chanted. It was to him a sure sign of their heart-felt co-operation in this movement of self-purification.

Concluding, Mahatma Gandhi said that the one thing that saddened him most was the condition of the Harijans in Lahore which he thought testified to the criminal neglect by the Municipality of its most deserving employees and citizens. Mahatma Gandhi referred particularly to lighting and sanitary arrangements and want of tap-water in the Harijan quarters.

I know that Municipal finances all over India are in a bad plight. But surely its effect ought not to be visited upon these

most deserving and useful employees and citizens. I hope, therefore, that complaints about insufficiency of water, want of light and sanitary conveniences, will receive immediate attention. Whatever be the difficulties in the Municipality, surely this essential humanitarian work should not be allowed to suffer.

I have a great deal to say about the manner of living, conditions of work, and economic condition of these people, but I do not want unnecessarily to burden this message and I want the attention of the public and Municipality to be concentrated upon the grievance that is crying and capable of immediate redress.

The Hindustan Times, 18-7-1934

231. SPEECH AT GULABDEVI TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL, LAHORE[1]

July 17, 1934

Mahatma Gandhi said that he thanked them for having asked him to perform the ceremonies[2] He was not surprised, he said, that the late Lalaji had wished him to perform the opening ceremony of this Hospital because of the intimate relations that he had with him He was delighted that he could come to Lahore and take part in the opening ceremony of this Hospital.

Gandhiji said the present function put him in mind of Deshabandhu Das, who also had expressed a desire in his will that a hospital for women should be established in Calcutta The Chittaranjan Sevasadan was now a flourishing institution under the fostering care of Dr Bidhan Roy. It was a remarkable coincidence that both these great Indian leaders cherished in their heart the idea of social service, especially service of women The nation could not achieve greatness, unless our women were fitted to stand shoulder to shoulder with the men Most of their leading men were social servants by choice and politicians only from necessity. They were powerful advocates of social reform Everyone knew Lalaji as a great social worker, and he would have chosen social service as his life-work if he had the choice. But no true servant of the people could nowadays ignore politics. It was remarkable that the last wishes of Chittaranjan Das and Lalaji were centred on social service

Those who knew Lalaji could not be surprised to learn that Lalaji had desired that preference should be given to Harijan women There was no greater Harijan servant than Lalaji had been.

[1] The first and the last paragraph have been reproduced from *The Tribune*. This and the following item are extracted from "Weekly Letter" in *Harijan*.

[2] Of unveiling the portrait of Gulabdevi and opening of the Hospital

Tuberculosis hospitals were unfortunately a necessity, but Gandhiji trusted that the medical men in charge would attend to prevention no less than to the cure of the terrible scourge The prevalence of tuberculosis in India, which was the land of perpetual sunshine, was rather inexplicable and required investigation. The medical staff of the hospital had the unique opportunity of studying the causes of tuberculosis among their patients and discovering means of prevention.

In the end, Gandhiji congratulated all who had helped to build this Hospital and hoped that they would help it with money [1]

Harijan, 3-8-1934

232. *SPEECH AT MODEL TOWN[2], LAHORE*

July 17, 1934

Referring to the rosy picture of the town drawn in the address, Gandhiji said he was sorry to learn that the picture did not seem to square with facts. A model town hardly deserved the name if it slavishly followed the bad old tradition of segregating Harijans, who did for society what every mother did for her own children Then, again, he had heard that they lived in bad houses and were put to great hardship with regard to water. He trusted the good people of Model Town would investigate the complaint and fulfil their promise to treat Harijans on a footing of equality with themselves.

Harijan, 3-8-1934

[1] Gandhiji then declared the Hospital open amidst cheers and afterwards inspected some of the buildings.

[2] The source had reported that just before he left Lahore for Calcutta, Gandhiji attended a meeting in this suburb of Lahore and received an address of welcome and a purse from its citizens.

233. *INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA*

LAHORE,
July 17, 1934

When he was asked whether there was any hope of his abandoning the seven days' fast he has announced to begin on the 7th August, now that Pandit Lal Nath had made an appeal to him to reconsider his decision, and in the light of the statement recently made by the Secretary, Rajputana Harijan Board, Mahatma Gandhi said:

There is no possibility of abandoning the fast.

Replying to a further enquiry whether he was prescribing any penance for the Secretary of the Rajputana Harijan Board, as he had been asked by the Secretary, Mahatma Gandhi said that no penance save greater watchfulness was necessary on the part of the Secretary.

The next question was whether Mahatma Gandhi thought that his health would not be put to undue strain by this fast, following as it would his strenuous Harijan tour. The Mahatma replied that he did not anticipate any permanent injury.

Replying to an enquiry whether there was any possibility of avoiding an election fight between the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Congress and of retaining Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney on the Congress Parliamentary Board, Mahatma Gandhi stated:

I can only say I shall try to avoid a split.

Mahatma Gandhi had no idea of his programme after the Harijan tour and the fast.

The final question was regarding the manner in which the Harijan Fund would be spent. The Mahatma said that three-fourths would return to the source from where it came, provided it could usefully be spent there. The balance would be used for constructive work.

The Tribune, 19-7-1934

234. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

July 18, 1934

With reference to Sir Samuel Hoare's reply in the Commons regarding the non-release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji said:

There is no reason for deferring the question till after the completion of the Harijan tour.

He was already considering it.

Asked what penance he proposed for the volunteer who beat Pandit Lal Nath at Ajmer and who confessed the act in a letter to a newspaper, Gandhiji said that he should put his brain in order.

Replying to another question regarding Doctor Alam's resignation from the Working Committee, he said that it was due to domestic reasons.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-7-1934

235. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 19, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

Again I am writing this on the train. You must not expect long or informing letters from [me][2]. It is enough for me to send you my love from week to week. Chandrashankar does the rest effectively. And now Mahadev is free and so is Vallabhbhai. Pyarelal and Mahadev are with me, also Kaka. Jairamdas too is free but not with me. Now of the principal ones Jawaharlal and Abdul Ghaffar Khan remain.

This train is taking me to Calcutta. I am likely to see the Governor and of course Moore.

The coming fast must not disturb you. You will be surprised to learn that the news of the fast has brought to light the names of men who actually took part in the assault on the black-flag demonstrators.

[1] At New Delhi station *en route* to Calcutta

[2] The source has "you".

I have already asked whether you had the credit note I promised.[1]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6292. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G N. 9758

236. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 19, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got both your letters. I understand your view regarding the dairy, namely, that it should be run independently. If so, who should be its trustees? Shankerlal[2], Ambalalbhai[3], Ranchhodbhai[4] and Titus? I have left out the names of persons who are likely to be imprisoned any time. We may include Chimanlal[5] also, if you wish.

I don't know what to do regarding Amalabehn. Can you accommodate her in Rajkot? She is not likely to remain even at Wardha for long. I don't know on whom I should place this burden. After all, how long am I likely to remain in Wardha? If I am not arrested, I will live not at Wardha but somewhere in Orissa or Bengal or the Frontier Province. I should be written off now so far as routine work is concerned.

I hope everything is going well. Has Jamnadas's health improved? What is Keshu doing? We have to provide the monthly expenses of Santok, Keshu and Radha. It is for you to decide what they should be paid. Fix any sum that you think proper. Relieve Radha of her worries. Santok should do some work there, either teaching the children or any other work that she can do. Where does she live? Where does Keshu live? I am placing this burden on you, but I am helpless. I can't decide anything from here. You should decide objectively and do what is right with firmness of mind. If you think it necessary, you may consult me.

How is Kusum doing? It is rather strange that Prema has not written a single letter. Sushila was to write to me about herself, but she has not written so far.

[1] *Vide* p. 178.

[2] Shankerlal Banker

[3] Ambalal Sarabhai

[4] Ranchhodlal Amritlal Shodhan

[5] Chimanlal Shah

I am writing this in the train on my way to Calcutta.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

It may be assumed that the Ashram khadi is given away to the Spinner's Association. Tell Shankerlal this.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8405. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

237. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

July 19, 1934

CHI. PREMA,

I am unhappy that, despite your promise, you have not written to me. I had hoped that you would write and let me know what your plans for the future were. May I still hope for it?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10358. Also C.W. 6795. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

238. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

July 19, 1934

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. Please overcome your desire, born of your attachment, to stay with me. Count me as a useless man. The Ashram has been broken up and understand that it cannot be revived now. I shall be wandering from place to place or be in a prison. I shall be staying in Wardha only because of the fast. What will you do there at that time? There you have settled down to some useful work. Stay there and learn and teach what you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9574. Also C.W. 6546. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

239. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

CALCUTTA,
July 19, 1934

It was a matter of great grief to me that I was not able to alight at Howrah Station. I had not understood that the public knew that I would alight at Howrah Station. As a matter of fact, I was to be taken away at Burdwan but finally I was taken away from Belur Station, thanks to the courtesy of the Railway authorities. Had I known that I was expected by the public at Howrah Station I would have insisted on reaching there.

I was also distressed to learn that some people were arrested for fear of their molesting me or causing disturbance. I would request the police authorities to discharge them. My life is held in trust by the public and it is at their disposal and has been since I have entered upon public life. I fully realize that the police have their own duty to perform. Nevertheless I would ask them to release those people who have been arrested, if it is at all possible to do so.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 20-7-1934

240. IN PRAISE OF WALKING

In the middle of the railway and the motor-car to which fellow-workers have dragged me again from the slow but steady and fruitful quiet walks in Orissa, it is pleasant to receive reflections like the following:

> Your pilgrimage makes my heart sing. It is a *yajna* (sacrifice) worthy of those for whom you perform it. Forgive my presumption! But I feel all aglow when I think of it. Somehow your rushing about in a motor-car in the cause of Harijans seemed to be queer, incongruous. I see this as a wholly spiritual problem, and that you should approach it *on foot*, as a true pilgrim, satisfies me through and through like perfect music, or a magnificent sunset. So, I feel, should *Daridranarayana* (the starving millions) be approached. Forgive me. My

[1] The source had reported that Gandhiji made this statement "immediately after his arrival in Calcutta".

words are an involuntary exclamation of a musician, in ecstasy over a *tambura* flawlessly in tune People say, 'But how many villages can he cover on foot?' My heart says, 'Yes, but how many *souls* he will touch!' Surely, souls matter more than villages and one pilgrim is worth a thousand propagandists.

How I wish other fellow-workers will realize the beauty and the necessity of pilgrimages on foot for Harijan work. People's hearts cannot be touched by a mad rush through space. They can be by quiet, personal, intimate contact with them. Rushing in motor-cars and railway trains dazes one and makes one powerless for clear thinking for the time being. But hardly has he recovered from the shock when he has to prepare to receive another. And so there is no chance of recovery, either for the occupant or for his victims. I know that the present programme cannot be substantially varied. But the remarks quoted above should be treasured for any future programme, and the one for the few remaining weeks should be so shaped as to fit in with the idea of no-rush. Let there be as few visits as possible during my stay in the principal places. My presence ought not to be exploited on behalf of other causes, however meritorious they may be. Let my mind be concentrated, as far as may be, on the Harijan cause.

Harijan, 20-7-1934

241. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

July 20, 1934

CHI. AMALA,

I have your letters. You are unnecessarily alarmed over my fast. Nobody else is. Seven days' fast can't kill me. But if my end is to come, it will come, fast or no fast. Therefore I would ask you to give up all anxiety about me.

It betrays gross neglect of duty to want to come to Wardha. You are living with me when you are doing my work, even though you may be physically miles away from me. And you are not living with me though you may be physically in the same place, if you are not doing my work. When God wills it you will be physically near me. But as I have said, if you simply cannot live in the Ashram you must do as you like. In that case there is no question of permission. I cannot surmount my nature and do the impossible. Will you go and live with Narandas in Rajkot?

Dwarkanath has not yet left Wardha. I am quite well. Blood-pressure normal.

Love.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

242. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

July 20, 1934

CHI. AMBUJAM,

I have your two letters.

Have no anxiety about my fast. God will see it safely through. This body can come to no harm as long as God wants it to render even the least service.

You should tell your parents if it is utterly impossible for you to live with your husband. You must listen calmly to whatever they say and bear it. If you can, you may certainly go to Kumbakonam and live with your husband. If the heart does not accept something, there is no gain but only harm in forcing it, the heart being the means to the deliverance of the soul from bondage. *Gita* declares thus and this is also the experience of all. Do write to me about your activities.

May God give you peace.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9596. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

243. DISCUSSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES[1]

[On or before *July 21, 1934*][2]

Gandhiji had no difficulty in showing them that the term 'Depressed Classes' had itself a bad odour which the name 'Harijan' had certainly not, but he assured them that he would be the last man to impose even a term of endearment on those who did not like it. Among the other grievances was the one that they were not given a majority of seats on the Harijan Board

[1] & [2] This is extracted from "Three Days in Calcutta" by Mahadev Desai. Gandhiji left Calcutta for Kanpur on July 21, 1934.

Gandhiji explained to them at length the penitential character of the work that the organization of the caste Hindus had set before itself and that, whilst they were in no way called upon to share in the act of penitence, they would do better to form an independent advisory board, in order to inspect and review the work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh Board, and to offer helpful advice and guidance. This was not only their privilege but their duty Their other duty which they could perform much more effectively than *savarna* reformers was internal reform, *viz.*, weaning from carrion-eating, drink, etc., those Harijans who were addicted to them Finally he implored them not to be impatient—though they had every right to—as during the last two years a marvellous change had come over the mentality of caste Hindus. For, when action precedes mental change, it may well be mechanical and fruitless, but, when it is the result of a change of mind and heart, it has a vitality of which everyone feels the warmth and glow.

Harijan, 10-8-1934

244. SPEECH AT CHITTARANJAN SEVA SADAN, CALCUTTA

July 21, 1934

We Indians as a nation are lacking in self-confidence. It is often said against us by our critics that we are deficient in constructive abilities and that we are incapable of running and managing successfully big public institutions. The steady progress that the Seva Sadan has shown under the capable guidance of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and Sir Nilratan Sircar constitutes the most effective reply to this charge.

The other day I was called upon to perform the opening ceremony of Gulabdevi Charitable Hospital at Lahore.[1] I want to share with you the reflection which that occasion gave rise to in my mind. Is it not surprising that both the late Lala Lajpat Rai and the late Deshbandhu Das who were the foremost political leaders of their time and who had passed their entire life in political struggles, should at the time of their death assign all their property not for any political object but for purely philanthropic and charitable object? It is a phenomenon for our critics to reflect upon and digest. It shows that our essential talent runs always in the direction of service and philanthropy. But we are forced into politics against our will owing to extraneous circumstances with the result that our innermost urge for constructive

[1] *Vide* pp. 206-7.

work is smothered and remains unfulfilled. This was just what the late Lokamanya lamented also. As the whole world knows, twice he was imprisoned and on both these occasions he utilized his time and talents not for writing any political work but for producing religious and scientific works. On one occasion it was the celebrated *Gita Rahasya* and on the other the monumental work on the antiquity of the Vedas that has since become famous throughout the world. If I repeat what I have already remarked, this again proves the fact that although today politics may seem to engross our entire being, the ideal that our soul craves for is service, our innermost bent is religious not in the narrow or parochial sense but in the broadest sense of the term, and if we are often compelled to engage in politics it is in order to clear the way for the exercise of our constructive talent.

You know how close Deshbandhu and I had come together particularly towards the close of Deshbanhdu's life during our stay together at Darjeeling. I was looking forward to his fullest co-operation in the prosecution of the constructive programme which we had planned together. But God had willed otherwise and within a week of that meeting Deshbandhu passed away. It always gives me supreme pleasure to be able to do anything for the ideal that we held in common. I therefore gladly availed of the invitation of Dr. Bidhan Roy to perform the present ceremony[1]. I would appeal to you to render all help that you are capable of to this institution. This is the least that you owe to the memory of the late Deshbandhu.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 22-7-1934

245. DISCUSSION WITH STUDENTS

[July 21, 1934][2]

QUESTION: Believing that mass revolution is the only means to achieve freedom, do you believe it a practical proposition that the mass will and can remain absolutely non-violent in thought and action in spite of all possible provocations in the course of such revolution? It may be possible for an individual to attain that standard but do you think that it is possible for the masses to attain that standard of non-violence in action?

[1] Gandhiji laid the foundation-stone of the children's wing of the Seva Sadan.

[2] From *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 22-7-1934. The source has "July 18, 1934", which is evidently incorrect.

GANDHIJI: This is a strange question coming from you at this time of the day, for the entire course of our non-violent fight bears testimony to the fact that wherever violence has broken out, it has broken out not on the part of the masses but, if I may put it like that, on the part of the classes, that is, it was manipulated by the intellectuals. Even in violent fighting, though the individual sometimes lets himself go and forgets everything the mass of the fighting force dares not and does not. It resorts to arms only under orders and has to suspend fire in response to orders, no matter how great the individual impulse to revenge or retaliation might be. There is no *prima facie* reason why under non-violence the mass, if disciplined, should be incapable of showing the discipline which in organized warfare a fighting force normally does. Besides, a non-violent General has this special advantage: he does not require thousands of leaders to successfully carry on his fight. The non-violent message does not require so many for transmission. The example of a few true men or women if they have fully imbibed the spirit of non-violence is bound to infect the whole mass in the end. This was just what I experienced in the beginning of the movement. I found that people actually believed that in my heart of hearts I favoured violence even when I preached non-violence. That was the way they had been trained to read and interpret the utterances of the leaders. But when they realized that I meant what I said, they did observe non-violence indeed under the most trying circumstances. There has been no repetition of Chauri Chaura. As for non-violence in thought God alone is judge. But this much is certain that non-violence in action cannot be sustained unless it goes hand in hand with non-violence in thought.

Do you think co-operation between the exploited and the exploiters is at all possible to attain the ideals you stand for? Do you not think that time has come when Congress should take a definite stand for the rights of the masses irrespective of the interests of the capitalists and the landlord? Do you not think that it is not possible to organize the masses effectively on nationalistic programme and workers have no need or no other alternative but to array themselves against the capitalists and landlords for the exploited tenants and labour? Do you not think that a class war is inevitable and interested classes must perish for the sake of a greater humanity?

I never said that there should be co-operation between the exploiter and the exploited so long as exploitation and the will to exploit persist. Only I do not believe that the capitalists and landlords are all exploiters by an inherent necessity or that there is a basic or irreconcilable antagonism between their interests

and those of the masses. All exploitation is based on the co-operation, willing or forced, of the exploited. However much we may detest admitting it, the fact remains that there would be no exploitation if people refuse to obey the exploiter. But self comes in and we hug the chains that bind us. This must cease. What is needed is not the extinction of the landlords and the capitalists but transformation of the existing relationship between them and the masses into something healthier and purer. You ask 'whether the time has not come when the Congress should stand for the rights of the masses as opposed to the interests of the capitalists and the landlords'. My reply is that ever since the Congress had come on the scene it has done nothing else whether it was dominated by the Moderates or the Extremists. From its very inception under A. O. Hume it has sought to represent the masses. That indeed was its origin, and a study of its history of nearly half a century would prove to the hilt that the Congress has been all through progressively representative of the masses.

Do I not think that time has come when Congress should take a definite stand for the rights of the masses irrespective of the interests of the capitalists and the landlords? No, we, the so-called friends of the masses, will only dig our and their graves if we took that stand. I would like to use the landlords and capitalists for the service of the masses as the late Sir Surendranath used to do. We must not sacrifice the interests of the masses to the capitalists. We must not play their game. We must trust them to the measure of their ability to surrender their gains for the service of the masses. Do you think that the so-called privileged classes are altogether devoid of nationalistic sentiments? If you think so, you will be doing grave injustice to them and disservice to the cause of the masses. Are not they too exploited by the rulers? They are not insusceptible to the higher appeal. It has invariably been my experience that a kind word uttered does go home to them. If we win their confidence and put them at their ease we will find that they are not averse to progressively sharing their riches with the masses. Moreover, let us ask ourselves with the masses, have we bridged the gulf between the surging millions and us? Let us who live in glass houses not throw stones. To what extent do you share the life of the masses? I confess that with me it is still an aspiration. We ourselves have not completely shed the habits of living that we say the capitalists are notorious for. The idea of class war does not appeal to me. In India class war is not only not inevitable but it is avoidable if we have understood the message of non-violence. Those who talk about class war as

being inevitable have not understood the implications of non-violence or have understood them only skin-deep.

How can the rich help the poor without the rich being poor themselves? Richness or capitalism is a system which tries to perpetuate the colossal difference between capital and labour in order to maintain its position and status. Is it therefore possible to effect any compromise between them without greatly injuring the interests of either?

The rich can help the poor by using their riches not for selfish pleasure, but so as to subserve the interests of the poor. If they do so there will not be that unbridgeable gulf that today exists between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. Class divisions there will be, but they will then be horizontal, not vertical. Let us not be obsessed with catchwords and seductive slogans imported from the West. Have we not our own distinct Eastern traditions? Are we not capable of finding our own solution to the question of capital and labour? What is the system of varnashrama but a means of harmonizing the difference between high and low, as well as between capital and labour? All that comes from the West on this subject is tarred with the brush of violence. I object to it because I have seen the wreckage that lies at the end of this road. The more thinking set even in the West today stand aghast at the abyss for which their system is heading. And I owe whatever influence I have in the West to my ceaseless endeavour to find a solution which promises an escape from the vicious circle of violence and exploitation. I have been a sympathetic student of the Western social order and I have discovered that underlying the fever that fills the souls of the West there is a restless search for truth. I value that spirit. Let us study our Eastern institutions in that spirit of scientific inquiry and we shall evolve a truer socialism and a truer communism than the world has yet dreamed of. It is surely wrong to presume that Western socialism or communism is the last word on the question of mass poverty.

We want to be precise as to what you mean by non-violence. If by non-violence you mean absence of personal hatred, we have no objection to it. What we object to is your identifying non-violence with non-killing. Wars are waged not on personal lines but to vindicate national honour or interests. Issues have always been fought out with the maximum amount of force both moral and physical. When all can successfully use physical force for the triumph of our national ideals and when it is the shortest cut, why do you object to it? Besides, the world is not even now advanced enough to appreciate moral persuasion.

My ahimsa does rule out the use of all force otherwise

than moral. But it is one thing to say that physical force has been or is today being used in the world for the settlement of national issues; quite another thing to say that it should continue so to be used. We cannot afford to blindly imitate the West. In the West, if they do certain things they have antidotes for them too; we have not. Take the instance of birth-control. It may seem to work well there, but if we took to the practice of birth-control as it is being advocated in the West, in ten years there will be a race of eunuchs in India. Similarly, if we take to violence after the West we shall soon be bankrupt as the West is fast becoming. Only the other day, I was having a talk with a European friend. He was appalled at the prospect of wholesale exploitation of the coloured races of the world by the highly industrialized nations of the West with which civilization is today confronted. The principle of non-violence is today passing through a period of probation. The forces of the spirit are engaged in life and death grapples with brute force. Let us in this crisis not shrink from the test.

What has the Congress done or what should it do in connection with the young men and women of Bengal detained without trial?

I have given you my solution. If we work the Congress organization non-violently and honestly we shall be able to purge it of its corruptions today. It is reeking with corruption, and Bengal, I must confess to my sorrow, has been the worst sinner in this respect. I will promise you that every one of these detenus is discharged. But then our non-violence will have to be real in thought, word and deed.

We regard all those elements in our society as Harijans who in one way or other are being exploited or kept suppressed. Your satyagraha movement is always for those who are downtrodden. Why then a separate Harijan movement?

It is not a separate Harijan movement that I am conducting. Its significance is world-wide.

Is it yet time for the youths of India to force a social re-ordering? Should it follow or precede any further political effort towards swaraj?

The two things—the social re-ordering and the fight for political swaraj—must go hand in hand. There can be no question of precedence or division into water-tight compartments here. But a new social order cannot be 'forced', that would be a remedy worse than the disease. I am an impatient reformer. I am all for thorough-going, radical, social re-ordering; but it must be an organic growth, not a violent super-imposition.

What is the utility of trying to keep a number of pseudo-nationalist Muslims within the Congress fold by allowing them illegitimate and illogical concessions which are only increasing their insatiable hunger?

If the Muslim nationalists are 'pseudo-nationalists', we too are 'pseudo-nationalists'. Let us therefore eradicate that word from our dictionary. I do not know what an 'illogical concession' means, but you will never find me supporting an illegitimate concession. That is common ground between us.

Is not the Congress Party responsible for the embitterment of the communal relations when it brought the Khilafat question on the Congress platform?

It is historically not true that the participation of the Congress in the Khilafat movement is responsible for the embitterment of the communal relations. The fact is just the other way about, and I shall always maintain that the Congress did well in standing by our Mussalman compatriots in their fight for the Khilafat.

To the Students, pp. 204-9

246. SPEECH AT TOWN HALL, CALCUTTA[1]

July 21, 1934

Replying in Hindi, Gandhiji expressed regret for want of knowledge of the Bengali language although it had always been one of the cherished dreams of his life that he should learn this beautiful and sweet language—a language the wealth of which had been immensely increased by the contributions of his Gurudev, Rabindranath Tagore.

He recalled the occasion when he received another civic address from the hands of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and made a touching reference to his close and intimate association with Deshpriya Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta whom he no more found by his side today.

As regards the good words that had been said about him in the address, Gandhiji received them as their blessings. What could he say to them in reply? He would only fervently pray to God that this great Corporation become an ideal body, that it could set up such an example as might with profit be emulated by other municipal institutions.

Calcutta with its beautiful parks, big thoroughfares and magnificent buildings was rightly called the City of Palaces but they could not overlook the fact that the picture had its other side too. On the one hand, there

[1] Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, the Mayor, presented the civic address in the afternoon. The address which was printed in Bengali on white khaddar.

were these gorgeous things which the city could be well proud of and on the other, there was the miserable condition of the *bastis* in which the Harijans lived. The contrast distressed him very much. He had an opportunity of visiting some Harijan quarters in the morning and it pained him very much to see the wretched state in which these people lived, without air, without light and without sufficient water for drinking. He was a Harijan himself by adoption and it would be no exaggeration to say that he felt uneasy in that place. They must not forget that it was these scavengers and sweepers of the city who were responsible for the cleanliness and the health of this big city. It was his prayer to the Councillors of the Corporation that they should make provision of some amount of money every year for removing the various grievances of these people. He appealed to them in the name of humanity and justice to devote a little of their time and attention to this noble cause.

Concluding, Gandhiji said that his attention had been drawn to the big headlines in newspapers regarding the dispute over the Mayoral election He hoped that there would be no repetition of the same, and appealed to the Councillors to see that all sections of the Corporation could work with one common purpose of serving the interests of the city, without any distinction of caste, colour and creed. He hoped that this great body would work in a way as could make it the object of pride and admiration to the whole of Hindustan.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 22-7-1934

247. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, CALCUTTA[1]

July 21, 1934

He began by expressing regret that he could not make his stay in Calcutta longer, for he was leaving Bengal that very night in connection with the Harijan work. The presence of such a huge gathering, continued Gandhiji, demonstrated that the people of Bengal would not and could not forget their work for Harijans. So far he had collected Rs. 65,000 in Calcutta for that noble work and, before he left that city that night, he hoped to receive further contributions. Even the Bengal Bus Syndicate, he was glad to find, had come forward to identify itself with that cause by contributing Rs. 501. Harijan work was such that it could not but be dear to all classes of people, even to those who called themselves sanatanists. They could not ignore that cause without ceasing to be human.

Continuing, he said that some *mazdurs* (labourers), who had gathered there in large numbers, asked him as to what he had done for their welfare. To the

[1] Held at Deshbandhu Park; Gandhiji spoke in Hindi.

service of Harijans he had already dedicated his life and thereby he had been doing his service to the labour also.

He was also working for the cause of popularizing charkha and this was a work in which was involved the welfare of millions of poor Harijans Because he was serving the cause of these poor labourers, he was himself leading the life of a labourer and had embraced poverty, for their joy was his joy and their sorrow was his sorrow.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 22-7-1934

248. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

July 21, 1934

When I agreed to go to Calcutta for three days in order to try to compose the domestic differences, Dr. B. C. Roy wrote to me inquiring how all the workers could be brought together and whether I considered Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to be a neutral party for issuing invitation to workers. I wrote immediately, saying that the Maulanasaheb would be the proper man to issue invitations which he did.

On my arrival I found that there was some dissatisfaction that enough invitations had not been issued, and the Maulana Saheb was willing to issue more invitations as soon as names were supplied to him. The names were ultimately supplied. They were too many for issuing cards within the time for the meeting. I, therefore, suggested that workers should be admitted without cards on identification by checkers. It is necessary for me to make this statement in order to make clear what happened in connection with bringing the workers together.

I have had a full and frank discussion with the different groups, and as a result of this discussion I came to the conclusion that, if party feeling was to be avoided, the Congress organization must be freed of manipulation of votes, even what amounts to a purchase of a vote.

It is most essential to avoid such manipulation, especially in Bengal where party feeling runs very high. I am happy to be able to say that nearly 22 out of 48 districts assured me through their representatives that they endorsed my suggestion and also assured me that they would have unopposed elections. If the representatives of the districts named are able to make good their

[1] Gandhiji was going to Kanpur. A representative travelled with him up to Asansol.

claim, it would be a happy augury for the future, and the example of such a large number of districts was bound to prove infectious.

In any event I have no remedy to suggest for purging the Congress organization in Bengal of all the undesirable elements. It would be impossible to run the Bengal Congress organization, or for that matter any Congress organization, until and unless the vast majority of Congressmen make up their minds to work the Congress with absolute honesty. Let it not be forgotten that my suggestion does not mean in any shape or form the suppression of the Election Board with Mr. M.S. Aney as the final arbitrator. He would still have to scrutinize papers received from districts having unopposed election. A declaration of such elections will have to be made by that Board and in the unfortunate event of any contested elections it would be that Board which would regulate them.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that my suggestion will commend itself to all Congressmen, no matter to which party they belong. I am sure that without purity and honesty in the Congress organization it would not be possible to rid Bengal of the many special ills from which she is suffering.

In conclusion, whatever happens to my advice I would like to state that the workers were throughout courteous and attentive to whatever I had to say to them.[1]

Asked by the Associated Press representative as to the progress made by the Harijan movement in Bengal, Mahatma Gandhi said that he was unable to answer the question until he had studied the situation more thoroughly. He, however, expressed great satisfaction at the generous contribution made by the province to the Harijan Fund.

He declined to say anything with regard to the release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the question of Bengal detenus.

The Statesman, 22-7-1934; also *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 22-7-1934

[1] What follows is reproduced from *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

249. LETTER TO SANATANISTS

[*July 22, 1934*][1]

In reply to a letter of an orthodox sanatanist of Benares, Mahatma Gandhi says that he is always prepared to hear the discussion of pundits with a view to obtaining correct interpretation of the Shastras on the subject of untouchability, but if the conclusion arrived at by the President was not convincing to him he will not be bound to accept it.[2]

The Hindustan Times, 24-7-1934

250. REPLY TO CIVIC ADDRESSES, KANPUR[3]

July 22, 1934

Replying to the addresses presented by the Municipal and District Boards, Gandhiji congratulated the Municipal Board on the very good work it had done for the uplift of Harijans. He appealed to the members of the Board to complete the scheme as early as possible. He said that for a big municipality like that of Cawnpore it was not difficult to construct sanitary houses within a short time He hoped to see these quarters himself. He referred to his visit to the Bhagalpore Municipality and said that there too he had advised the Board to complete the work at once, which they readily accepted to do. He hoped the Cawnpore Municipal Board too would act upon his advice. He said that there were many things which they could do without much trouble. Their grievances were not such as would require lakhs of rupees in the budgets. Those who were called the higher class of people could get their work done in so many ways. But how could poor Harijans get their grievances redressed? Gandhiji was pleased to note that in the Cawnpore Municipality, members belonging to all the communities—Hindus, —Muslims and others loved the Harijans alike. As he said, they were not there in the boards as Hindus or Muslims or anybody else but as public servants. He again expressed his gratification at the substantial and solid work done for the welfare of the Harijans by the Cawnpore Municipality.

[1] The report was published under the date-line, "Benares, July 22", 1934.

[2] For a discussion with the sanatanists, *vide* pp. 238-40.

[3] In "Weekly Letter", Valji G. Desai had explained that the civic bodies presented their addresses at "Dr. Jawaharlal's bungalow, where Gandhiji had put up".

Turning to the District Board's address, he returned to two points particularly. The address stated that the District Board had resolved that students should be admitted to all their schools without any restriction, but he said that it was a rule like so many others. What he advised the Board was to see whether the rule was observed, as it was well-known that often the rules said something while what was actually done was something quite different. He said that he had seen some sign-boards over wells saying that the wells were for the use of Harijans as well, but still the so-called caste Hindus beat any untouchables that used them and did not let them use them.

We should realize that the Harijans also are men and not beasts. Our Dharmashastras all say that if a man gives water to a thirsty man, he is rewarded manifold for it.

Referring to spinning taught in District Board Girls' Schools, Gandhiji said that his faith in khadi was as bright as ever It was closely related to the Harijan cause, as they were serving hundreds of Harijan women and weavers through khadi. These, being terribly restricted in the choice of professions, would starve if they did not give them spinning or weaving. Indeed, for that matter, they were similarly serving hundreds of Muslim women and men. The women, as they observed *purdah*, would not earn the few pice they did per day if they were not given the opportunity of spinning. To these they must add the thousands of general spinners among the semi-starved millions of India. Khadi was thus no respecter of persons, and no lover of *Daridranarayana* could afford to go without khadi. He who bought a yard might rest assured that he was giving tangible help to the poor, whether Harijan Hindu, Muslim or *savarna* Hindu [1]

In the end, he thanked both the Boards for the addresses presented to him.

The Leader, 26-7-1934; also *Harijan*, 10-8-1934

251. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, KANPUR[2]

July 22, 1934

I thank you for your purse of Rs. 11,000, but you will allow me to say that it is not worthy of the open-handedness which you have taught me to associate with Cawnpore. I am certain that you would have given me many times as much, if you had realized the magnitude of the task before us.

[1] This paragraph is reproduced from *Harijan*.

[2] According to the source, this is "a substance of Gandhiji's speech". This appeared under the title "The Cawnpore Speech".

There are some people in Cawnpore who look upon the Harijan movement as irreligious and have issued a large number of leaflets for public consumption. I was sorry to find that these were full of palpable falsehoods and insidious half-truths, exaggerations and distortions. How I wish that these statements were made unintentionally! For instance, it is said that reformers in some place slaughtered sanatanists without mercy, but I know nothing about it. If I did, I need scarcely say that I would take strong action to check it. What a deep tragedy it is that these falsehoods are spread in the name of sanatana dharma? I appeal to the sanatanists to stop this campaign of falsehoods.

You would give lakhs where you now give thousands, if you understood the far-reaching character of the Harijan movement. Nevertheless, our goal cannot be achieved by collections, no matter how large they are; it will be achieved only with the melting of *savarna* Hindu hearts. When a gift is token of a change of heart, its value is multiplied a hundredfold. This is a movement of purification. It has nothing to do with the counting of heads. It is not a movement designed to fight Muslims or others. We do not seek to make *goondas* of Harijans. We seek to make them worthy citizens. If we succeed, the world will benefit as well as we. At present the world would be fully justified in despising us and our faith for our maltreatment of five crores of our own kith and kin in the name of religion.

I have regard for the black-flaggers no less than for the reformers and, if it was at all possible, I would gladly go away as they wish me to do. But I consider it my religious duty to bear witness to the truth as I see it, and any number of black flags, or even a bomb or a revolver cannot prevent me from discharging it by such means as are open to me. I am but an imperfect being and not a *tapasvi*[1] who could blow away untouchability with a breath from the Himalayas. I can only speak to such as are inclined to hear me, and for this I am going about from place to place, although I long for rest from the toil of continuous travel.

Let me tell the sanatanists who claim to be monopolists of religious truth that I believe in the same Shastras as they do. I have profound disagreement with them as regards interpretation. These Shastras lay down that, when there is a conflict of interpretation, one must follow the promptings of one's own conscience. And that is exactly what I am doing. I would be the sanatanists'

[1] One who has acquired spiritual power through austerities

slave if they could convince me that I was wrong. Meanwhile, I will say even with my last breath that, if we do not wash out the stain of untouchability, Hindus and Hinduism will be wiped out from the face of the earth.

Let me repeat the implications of this movement. It is limited to the removal of the feeling of superiority and inferiority and has nothing to do with inter-dining and intermarriage. I personally inter-dine with Bhangis and Mussalmans. I am not ashamed of this. On the other hand, I think my conduct in this respect is fully in consonance with the Shastras. But it has nothing to do with this movement. Inter-dining and intermarriage are matters of individual choice. There is no need, nor can I spare time, for such propaganda. I only place the essentials of religion before the people for their acceptance. The movement claims for the Harijans the same social, civic and religious rights as belong to any other Hindu.

As regards temple-entry, you should know that no temple is opened to Harijans except with the full consent of those who attend that temple for worship. Temples must be opened as a part of our penance. Not a single pie from the Harijan Fund is spent on temple-building. Our constant effort is to ensure that as large a part of it as possible finds its way into Harijan pockets in one way or another.

As this is a Harijan tour, I do not often speak about khadi, although my faith in it is as strong as ever. But you must not forget that khadi supports a large number of Harijan spinners and weavers. It will never do for you to give a second place to khadi in your thoughts.

I thank you for the peacefulness of the proceedings, but I cannot lose sight of the fact that we are under the shade of the elaborate police precautions we see around us. I would very much wish they were away, but they, too, must discharge their duty. Reformers as well as sanatanists should be ashamed that the presence of the police should be required for my protection or for ensuring peace during my stay in your midst. Reformers and sanatanists should realize the importance of maintaining self-imposed discipline so as to render police precautions wholly unnecessary. As it is, however distasteful their presence may be to me, I must testify to the exemplary manner in which the police have behaved throughout the trying tour. I must also testify to the facilities that the railway authorities have given from time to time.

Harijan, 3-8-1934

252. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

July 23, 1934

MY DEAR MALKANI,

Your letter. Have read your suggestions which will be discussed in Benares. You have not sent me your franchise proposal though you mention it in your letter.

I heard from Jamnalalji some days ago but forgot to write to you to say that he is revising the whole constitution of the Sangh and thinks that you could not be taken. More in Benares.

Yours,
BAPU

PROF. MALKANI
BIRLA MILLS
DELHI

From a photostat: G.N 903

253. LETTER TO SULOCHANA A. SHAH

July 23, 1934

CHI. SULOCHANA,

I got your letter. It was a good one. I have taken some time to reply to it. It is something that I am able to write even today. It was very good that you could preserve your health and maintain your weight even in jail. You did good study, too. Tell me in your next letter what you read and thought about.

Why don't you yourself think what you should do? If you cannot decide, however, follow Narandas's advice. He knows you better.

Premabehn has not so far gone to Wardha. She doesn't seem to have come to any decision. Lilavati and Siddhimati are at Rajkot.

Kusum must marry if she wishes to do so. If she has no such desire, she must engage herself in some kind of public service. She should know that, if physical desire troubles the mind, it is a sin to hide it. It would be good if she could keep such thoughts

out. If, however, she cannot do that despite her best efforts, she should get married at any cost.

I will tell Gulab to write when I meet her in a few days. It is rather surprising that she doesn't write.

There is room for improvement in your handwriting. It wouldn't be bad if you even make the letters a little bigger. What are you reading at present?

Ba is with me, and so are Mahadevbhai, Pyarelal, Valjibhai and Chandrashankar. There are others too, but perhaps you would not know them. Isn't this a sufficiently long letter?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1751

254. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

July 23, 1934

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

I got your letter. I had received your wire too. Amalabehn seems to have given you a lot of trouble. I will not send her to you again. She arrived here yesterday. She seems to be half crazy. She herself does not know what she wants. She appears to stick to her word that she would stay nowhere but with me.

How is your pain which was caused by the beating?

Was the report about that man having been dismissed or demoted found to be true or false? Did the Baroda State take any steps?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G N 4023

255. *LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI*

July 23, 1934

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got the letter from you both. I understand [what you say] about West. If finally he does not reply, let it be. It is necessary that you should stay on there till somebody else agrees to take charge of your work. I see no harm in your remaining there so long as you can meet your expenses.

Have quarrels started even on the football ground? So be it. Certainly do what you think best. I have no desire at all to guide you from here, nor wish to criticize your actions. I want nothing but that you should be completely independent. It is not desirable that every day you should have to think what I would say. I want you always to do what seems proper and right to you. Progress for you two lies in your doing so. Who will guide you after my death? God is the only true guide. You should, therefore, pray to Him every day. You should daily pray, "Let Your will be mine", and then act with faith that the Lord dwelling in your heart will guide you rightly without fail.

This answers Sushila's question. It will be enough to maintain courteous relations with Sorabji. If you try to go further, you may have to compromise yourselves.

I hope you have seen about passports for Ramdas and Dr. Sharma.

Would you give Rs. 5 or 10 to Mama[1] every month? I have got Rs. 500 paid to him by Jamnalal. I should like it if you, Devdas and Lakshmi contribute small sums towards that. If you agree, you should pay regularly, remitting the amount to Jamnalal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4834

[1] Madhavdas Kapadia, brother of Kasturba Gandhi

256. LETTER TO SHANTILAL J. MEHTA

July 23, 1934

CHI. SHANTI,

I wish you will get properly settled down.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4823

257. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

July 23, 1934

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter today.

Your analysis is correct. I don't feel disappointed when I find that somebody has not fulfilled my expectation, for I don't see anybody's fault in such failure. I don't blame even myself. I gave according to the best of my lights, and you all received as you could. When all are imperfect, nothing else can happen. At the age of about thirty, I happened to read, "Through hundreds of thousands of disappointments, endures imperishable hope". I had pondered long over this line, memorized it and used to sing it to myself. The *ghazal*[1] was a source of great consolation to me. Now I don't even need its support. How can I spare time even to keep count of the number of disappointments?

> The illusory appearance of silver in a mother-of-pearl or of water in the sun's rays, although unreal at all times, cannot be avoided.[2]

If you or I feel that Bal is doing wrong, what is that to poor Bal?

I hope you understand the meaning of these lines. If you don't, ask Devdas. The *doha* is by Tulsidas. It has had a profound effect on my mind. Man cannot but cling to an illusion so long as it seems truth to him. That is why the world has been de-

[1] By Manibhai Nabhubhai Dwivedi

[2] *Ramacharitamanas*, Balakanda. 117

scribed as an illusion and a snare, as *maya.* I will be content if you always do your best. I haven't written to Mr. Cousins, as I couldn't get time to do that. But since Rajaji has now written to me positively, I am waiting till we meet in Benares.

If you feel a strong wish to come to Wardha, you may do so. Otherwise, after paying the intended visit to relations, go to the South.

I have not abandoned Harilal, nor given up hope about him. I am serving him by not yielding to him. The saying means "to follow his wishes". I am extremely doubtful about the rightness of the course which has now been adopted. He has always lived thus up to now. He used to be brave, but friends have deprived him of his capacity for self-reliance. And now he has thought of [business in] patent medicines. But as all of you have approved of this solution, I need not criticize it. What seems right to one, that is one's dharma. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C W. 7287. Courtesy: Kanti Gandhi

258. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

July 23, 1934

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have been wanting to write to you for a long time, but couldn't do so till today. I felt, too, that since Mahadev had been released, it wouldn't matter if I didn't write. If I expressed disappointment on hearing that you would not be able to go to Wardha, I don't remember why. I didn't feel disappointed. I was afraid that you wouldn't like to go there, and I had expressed my fear to Jamnalalji. The reasons which you have given are sound. The reason about the Vidyapith is not valid. If it is, it is such as can be overcome. But the reasons regarding temperament are so strong that they require no support from others. It is not a small responsibility to take charge of Wardha. An experienced and mature woman is required for that. Perhaps Prema may be such a woman. Gangabehn has no interest in the work. I don't know where Prema is now. She did come and see me, but that's all. Besides these two, I can't think of any other woman in our circle. Can you think of any?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9062

259. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

KANPUR,
July 23, 1934

CHI. MANI,

You have been writing quite regularly. Continue to do so. But do not expect any letters from me. Mahadev's being with me relieves me from writing some of the letters. I don't have to write even to Sardarsaheb now. I agree with you that the best medicine for you is to stay on there.

Probably we shall meet very soon now.

Blessings from
BAPU

PS.[1]

I am sending the enclosed letter to you. Please send it on to Father immediately. You have frightened him all right by telling him what I told Bhaskar. I have said the same thing to many others. And, indeed, I am not alone in my view. At least Velanbehn and two girls are with me. Our problem, therefore, is not so easy as all that. Let us hope that everything will be settled in Wardha.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 117

260. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

July 23, 1934

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have both your letters.

Why should it be taken that all those companions of mine are sinners who do not live with me or render personal service to me? What sins could Vinoba, who has ever lived away from me, have committed? Disabuse yourself of this misconception.

It is true that you are suffering from the three delusions you have dwelt on in the second letter. But you have to get rid of all three of them if you wish to render any service to the Ashram and me.

[1] From the honourific plural used in the Gujarati original, the postscript appears to have been written by Mahadev Desai.

As you have renounced everything, you should regard it as wrong to take anything from the brothers to render help to individuals. All that you may save from the subsistence money you receive may be donated to the Ashram but never anything received from personal friends or relatives. To give anything to Damodardas would be disservice to a friend; he will not come out of his stupor. His duty is to perform his labour with humility. If he is not up to it he may well choose his own way of life and provide for himself. My reading is that your financial assistance has been demoralizing him and he makes no progress.

Am I clear? If not, do ask again.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Where is the need for a confidential letter? There is no one here who would harm you or anyone else if he happens to see your letter.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2415

261. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

KANPUR,
July 24, 1934

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. I had come to know about Rama's having gone there. It is just her excuse when she says that she doesn't write to me to save my time. Her aversion to writing is an old one. You should not, therefore, readily accept such an excuse. Some habits become part of one's nature. This habit of Rama's, like Devdas's, is of that kind. The only difference is that Devdas would not offer any such excuse for not writing, for he knows that it would not be accepted by me. Rama is not sufficiently aware of that. Please go on doing your work. Don't even think about the fast.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. CHHAGANLAL JOSHI
SHRI DAKSHINAMURTI BHAVAN
BHAVNAGAR
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5520

262. SPEECH AT OPENING OF TILAK HALL, KANPUR[1]

July 24, 1934

I am thankful to you for inviting me to perform this sacred ceremony this morning. When I learnt early this morning that I had to come here, my memory went back to the day 20 years ago when I first visited Cawnpore as a stranger. It was the late Babu Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, then a youth unknown to me, who then housed me in his press which was also his residence, for nobody else would dare harbour me. I was then an utter stranger to the bulk of our countrymen. Whatever little was known of me was through my services in South Africa. Neither the people nor the Government knew what I would do here. Nor did I myself know what was in store for me or what part I was to play in the national affairs. It was a happy coincidence that Tilak Maharaj came to this city that very day and was accorded a very hearty reception. To me the association with this city is bound up with the memory of Ganesh Shankar. I came to know him more intimately later on and found in him a simple, straightforward, upright, selfless servant of the nation. You know more than I do of the services he rendered through various channels to this city in particular and the country in general. He was a lover of the Hindi language. The *Pratap* founded by him is a living monument of that love. As we all know he crowned a life of service with a heroic death. I cannot describe to you how I miss him today on my first visit to this city after his death.

Tilak's vast learning, his immense sacrifice and his life-long service has won for him a unique place in the hearts of the people. He it was who infused life into the nation with the *mantra* of swaraj to the achievement of which his whole life was dedicated. But the thing to which I want to draw your attention today was his outlook and catholicity in matters of religion. He was a live sanatanist. No one in his lifetime nor even now could claim deeper or vaster knowledge of the Shastras than he possessed. His masterwork—the 'commentary on the *Gita*'[2]—is unsurpassed and will remain so for a long time to come. Nobody has yet

[1] This appeared as "an authorized translation of Gandhiji's speech".
[2] *Gita Rahasya*

carried on more elaborate research in questions arising from the *Gita* and the Vedas. It was not without deep study and careful research that he had declared that there was no sanction in the Shastras for untouchability as it is practised today. I can bear witness to the fact that he had eliminated the distinctions of high and low from his own life. He did not believe in untouchability based on birth and never hesitated to mix freely with so-called untouchables. I carried on anti-untouchability work in those days as I do now. I remember my many conversations with him on this subject and I can bear testimony to the fact that he was whole-heartedly with me and keenly desired the abolition of untouchability from Hinduism. It is relevant to refer to his opinion today, for it is said in some quarters nowadays that this anti-untouchability movement is subversive of religion.

I can give you many more reminiscences of his liberal outlook in other fields of life also. His contribution to the growth of the political life of the people has been unparalleled. But I believe his commentary on the *Gita* will be a more lasting monument to his memory. It will survive even the successful termination of the struggle for swaraj. Even then his memory will remain as fresh as ever on account of his spotless purity of life and his great commentary on the *Gita*. We owe to the memory of the great leader whom we revere that we should strive ceaselessly for completing the structure of swaraj of which he laid the foundation. Let this hall be but an outward token of our intense desire to make that effort to the best of our ability.

The Leader, 29-7-1934

263. DISCUSSION WITH SANATANISTS[1]

KANPUR,
[July 24, 1934][2]

QUESTION: How is this temple-entry agitation of yours going to benefit the Harijans materially? Are you sure that they want it?

GANDHIJI: It is for the material benefit of the Harijans. It is for the spiritual benefit of the *savarna* Hindus, who have to purify themselves and who owe a debt to the Harijans. If untouchability is a sin and if the Harijans are as good Hindus as the rest of us, they have as much right to enter the temples as the others. Whether they can get any material benefit from it, or even spiritual benefit or salvation, or whether they themselves want it or not, is beside the point. The point is whoever cares to go to a temple, provided he observes the rules observed by all other Hindus, ought to have the right to do so. He may be a sinner, but it is precisely because we are all sinners that we would like to go to temples to wash out our sins there. A saint need not go there. The sanatanists may expect him to observe all the rules of outward cleanliness that they themselves observe, but nothing more.

But the Shastras are against temple-entry. Why not frankly say that you want to found a new Shastra?

No. I believe in the same Shastras as you do; only my interpretation is different. I am not a *shastri* myself, but if there is a section which contends that the Shastras enjoin untouchability, there is another equally strong section of pandits and *shastris* who no doubt say that there is no sanction in the Shastras for untouchability as it is practised today.

But if you destroy untouchability, the untouchables will invade our professions and occupations. They will have sweetmeat shops, for instance. All self-restraint in matters of food will be swept away.

[1] This is extracted from "Some Misconceptions" by Mahadev Desai who explains: "The organizers of the reception in Cawnpore had set apart a certain time exclusively for the sanatanists. . . . There were, however, no opposing pundits there But there was a young man (who afterwards I found was an oil-dealer) who had a list of several questions . . . which, naturally, someone more learned had written up for him and which represent the misconceptions that still have possession of the sanatanist mind."

[2] From *The Leader*

You forget that the Harijan campaign has nothing to do with questions of food and drink, it seeks to destroy untouchability as it is practised today. There are numerous shops being run by non-Hindus and non-Brahmins. No one compels the Hindus or the Brahmins among them to go to these shops. There are orthodox Brahmins who would not touch food cooked by anyone else. They are quite welcome to their self-imposed restrictions, which will remain untouched for all time.

But why do you say untouchability is a sin, when our own mothers and sisters and daughters are treated as untouchables four days in the month?

You must know that some kind of untouchability is practised not only by us, Hindus, but by people of all faiths—Parsis, Mussalmans, Christians. But do we treat our mothers and sisters as untouchables for the rest of the month? Do we spurn them, do we fling our food remains at them even during the period of untouchability? Do we keep them out of our houses? For God's sake, don't forget that you are subjecting the so-called untouchables to insults and outrages that you would not dare to impose on anyone else.

Those insults and outrages are unknown here. You had better go to places where they are practised.

Will you accompany me?

Why should we? It is enough that we are not guilty. We invite them to our caste-dinners.

And fling remains at them, don't you?

But you, reformers, do not so much as fling the remains at them. In your zeal for reform, you starve them. We don't starve them. Whilst we observe untouchability, we have that much sympathy for them. You always say the Harijan campaign has nothing to do with questions of eating and drinking or with the question of marriage. Why, then, did you marry your boy Devdas to a Brahmin girl?

This is an irrelevant question. But I must answer it. The marriage was no part of the Harijan movement. I did not allow the marriage as a leader of the anti-untouchability campaign, but I allowed it as a Hindu reformer. As a reformer of Hinduism, I want to restore the ancient varnashramadharma to its pristine purity. Varnashramadharma lays down the functions and duties of various classes according to their special aptitudes and gifts and has nothing to do with questions of marriage and food and drink. Now that you have raised the question of my son's mar-

riage, I shall summarize the considerations that weighed with me and would weigh with me on all such occasions : (1) The four varnas do not exist today, and, therefore, it is the duty of those who believe in the varnas to restore them by observing the sovereign principles of purity and self-restraint. Let me tell you that, when I was told that there was mutual attachment between the two young people in question, I asked them to impose self-restraint on themselves for a period of five years—not to meet each other, not even to correspond with each other—and thus to prove the purity of their attachment. They fulfilled the conditions and even then would not have the marriage until it was blessed by their parents. (2) Even assuming that varnas exist, instances are not wanting in *Mahabharata* and other works of inter-varna marriages. (3) After all is said and done, the laws and codes governing personal conduct apply to the times in which they were framed. The ruling principle is self-restraint.

There are, besides, numerous texts in our *smritis* which contradict one another, and hence we cannot blindly accept every text as gospel truth. We have to prove them on the touchstone of truth and non-violence. There are things, for instance, in *Manusmriti* which no author believing in ahimsa could ever have written and which run counter to the precepts in the same great work, precepts which would do credit to the spiritual genius of any race or clime. I must expunge those texts as apocryphal, as we do in the case of many verses of doubtful authenticity which have crept into a much more recent work like, for instance, Tulsidas's *Ramayana*. For me, the text of Manu defining sanatana dharma—eternal religion—is all-sufficing:

> That dharma is eternal which is always observed by saintly men of learning, free from ill will and passion, and which appeals to one's *hridaya* or sense of right and justice.

As regards my own practice in matters of food and drink, everyone knows that I eat food from the hands of any human being, provided it is clean and pure. It is a purely personal question and not a social question at all. I am not out for reform in the matter, as I know that it can take care of itself, and I, therefore, do not seek to air my views in public. My own sister would not eat food cooked by many, certainly not food touched by a Harijan. But I would not strive with her. It should be enough for me that she discards untouchability and refuses to regard a human being an untouchable because of his birth.

Harijan, 24-8-1934

264. SPEECH TO U. P. HARIJAN WORKERS, KANPUR[1]

[*July 24, 1934*][2]

As regards the general complaint of municipal neglect, Gandhiji said they must rouse the members from their lethargy by directly approaching them as well as by educating the voters, who could then be expected to keep the members straight. He was glad to learn that the non-Hindu members of Cawnpore Municipality co-operated whole-heartedly with the Hindus as regards the welfare work among its Harijan employees, and he was sure that the Mussalman members of other municipalities, too, would be equally sympathetic when, as guardians of not one section but of the whole body of the public, they realized that ours was a purely humanitarian movement which had nothing to do with politics, that Harijans ministered to non-Hindus no less than to Hindus and that insanitary conditions in Harijan quarters were a potential source of danger to the whole of the city. It was a notorious fact that Harijans did not enjoy the same amenities as regards water-supply, lights, etc., as the rest of the citizens did

But irrespective of what the municipalities might do or fail to do, the Sangh must try to secure decent living conditions for Harijans. And this could be done with ease and without any heavy expenditure. First, they must see to the proper drainage and cleaning of the Harijan quarters and the making of roads Slight repairs should be carried out in the houses so as to allow a free passage to light and air. If they placed before municipalities a modest programme of improving the sanitation of Harijan quarters, they would make a small grant of money to the Sangh and make them their agents in carrying it out, for municipalities might not have at hand the workers required, or if the workers were there, they might not have a keen interest in work of this nature.

Secondly, they must obtain for Harijans a good supply of water. Harijans in villages were worse off in this respect than their fellows in cities. They had yet to develop strength enough to assert and maintain their right to draw water from public wells by seeking the protection of courts or otherwise. Meanwhile the Sangh must construct for them good wells from which even the *savarnas* would be tempted to take water for themselves, and during the period that these wells were under construction, reformers must draw water for the Harijans and pour it into their pots.

[1] This appeared under the title: "Harijan Workers' Guide".
[2] From Valji G. Desai's "Weekly Letter"

Thirdly, the Sangh should establish good preparatory schools for Harijan children, where the teachers would not make a fetish of the 3 R's, but try to teach their pupils to keep their person and clothes clean, so as to enable them at the end of six months to take their place in a line with *savarna* children of the same age. For this, kindliness was more essential in a teacher than scholarship. The Sangh would do well even to bring out a Harijan preparatory schoolmaster's guide, showing him how he should impart to his charges the cultural training which *savarna* children received in their homes.

Fourthly, as regards Ashrams, he thought they had better fight shy of that big word and rather call their institutions 'Chhatralayas' (hostels) or 'Udyogalayas'. Personally he did not like that the institution at Sabarmati was called Harijan Ashram In these hostels they might supplement the ordinary education of the inmates at schools by teaching them some industry and religion, not through text-books but in actual practice The superintendent must see that the members used their hands and feet and told the truth in their actual lives, instead of merely reading copybook maxims about it In fact, he should be as father to them A couple of such institutions in each province should go a long way in the spread of culture and serve the purpose of comprehensive propaganda

As regards total abstinence, Gandhiji said they could make an impression only if they entered into the drunkards' lives and established an intimate personal relation with them. It was no use merely getting them to sign a pledge. They must find out the reasons why people took to drink They must devise substitutes for it, such as milk and tea, and organize games, lectures and such other diversions

Finally, Gandhiji expressed his emphatic opinion that they had hardly touched the fringe of their problem so long as they had not penetrated into the villages, which were the stronghold of untouchability and where alone they could strike it a death-blow

Harijan, 10-8-1934

265. SPEECH TO STUDENTS AND HARIJANS, KANPUR[1]

July 24, 1934

Mahatma Gandhi, replying, thanked the students for the purse but said that it was too little for Cawnpore students who gave Rs 1,500 in his last visit but as it was given out of love it was welcome He was pleased to learn that they regarded him as a votary to true sanatana dharma and that their wish to do Harijan service was a good sign.

At the Harijan workers' meeting[2] it was said that there were not sufficient Harijan workers but here they were. As he did not expect them to give up their studies and devote all their time to this work, but he did expect them to devote their time to this work along with their studies just as they attended their parents when they fell ill. He wanted the spirit of sacrifice instilled in them. Knowledge did not mean mere book-reading. It included this kind of service also He wished he could bring home to their hearts how much poor Harijans suffered and students could remove many of their grievances, if not all, and all this could be done while continuing regular studies

In the end Mahatma Gandhi appealed to students, both male and female, to wear khadi at least if they could not devote much time to Harijan work. This wearing of khadi gives to Harijans much of what we pay for it.[3]

Replying to the Harijans' address, Gandhiji said that sanitary service was a sacred occupation, and scavengers no more deserved to be despised than a nurse, a surgeon or a mother, who had all to handle excreta But they must observe the rules of cleanliness and give up carrion as well as liquor and gambling. They should refuse to accept leavings of food and ask for monetary equivalent or at least uncooked cereals or pulses in payment of their services. As regards strikes, Gandhiji said, he himself had led several successful strikes in South Africa as well as in the mother country, and as an expert in the science, he would advise them to exhaust all other avenues of settlement of disputes before they downed tools [4]

The Leader, 27-7-1934; also *Harijan*, 19-8-1934

[1] At Queen's Park; the students of Sanatan Dharma College presented an address.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] Gandhiji then received an address from Harijan sweepers which was read out by Lalloo Ram, a sweeper.

[4] This paragraph is reproduced from Valji G. Desai's "Weekly Letter".

266. INTERVIEW TO RASHTRIYA BHASHA DEPUTATION[1]

July 24, 1934

He told them to carry on vigorous propaganda, write out literature in Hindi issues and pamphlets, prepare dictionary and books in Hindi on lines adopted in the West, and made various other suggestions for improving and popularizing the Hindi language and literature.

The Hindustan Times, 25-7-1934

267. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

ON THE TRAIN,
July 25, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

This is just to tell you, you are constantly with me.
Love.

BAPU

Bapu's Letters to Mira, p. 267

268. ENRTY IN VISITORS' BOOK[2]

July 25, 1934

How can those who do not wear khadi serve *Daridranarayana*?

The Pioneer, 27-7-1934

[1] The deputation consisted of Hiralal Khanna, Principal, Bishambarnath Sanatan Dharma Intermediate College, Brij Behari Mehrotra, Balkrishan Sharma, Chail Behari Kantak and others and was led by Baba Raghav Dass.

[2] In the morning, Gandhiji visited the Charkha Sangh Khadi Bhandar, near Aminuddaula Park, Lucknow.

269. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, LUCKNOW[1]

July 25, 1934

Replying to the addresses Mahatma Gandhi thanked the sanatanists, the Harijans and the other citizens of Lucknow for the reception accorded to him but frankly expressed his dissatisfaction at the small sum contributed by Lucknow to the Harijan Fund. He refused to recognize that there were extenuating circumstances for the paltry contribution. Lucknow had fair notice of his visit and the sum raised for the cause of the Harijans should have been much larger. A few years ago when he had come to Lucknow, the premier city of the United Provinces had presented him with a much bigger purse but this time it had disappointed him.

When the women of Lucknow presented[2] him with a purse of Rs. 1,500 and ornaments valued at Rs. 500, he hoped that the other citizens would contribute a sum to the Harijan Fund which would be fitting to the city's status but all his expectations had been frustrated. He was, however, prepared to give Lucknow another chance to redeem its honour and hoped that its citizens would send him a substantial sum before his tour in the provinces was concluded.

So far as work for the Harijans was concerned, Mahatma Gandhi invited the people to go and see for themselves the plight of the Harijans all over India. Regarded as outcastes they were denied even the elementary rights of human beings in the name of religion. Those who countenanced untouchability were guilty of a grave social sin. To keep more than 6,00,00,000 people outside the pale of the society in the name of religion was an unpardonable act for which there was no justification.

In South Africa and America the whites showed the same aversion and intolerance to the members of the darker races as were being shown in India by the caste people to the members of the Depressed Classes, but in those countries the whites had taken up that attitude as a political weapon for their own aggrandizement. They did not take recourse to religion as was being done by the caste Hindus in India to justify their action.

Due to this impossible attitude, for which there was no justification, people like Dr. Ambedkar, for whose intelligence, sincerity and other sterling qualities he had the highest respect though he differed from him on the

[1] At Aminuddaula Park

[2] At Zenana Park, earlier in the morning, soon after he had reached Lucknow

Harijan question, were regarded as untouchables by the Hindu society. The Depressed Classes were not born depressed but had been kept oppressed for centuries by the caste Hindus.

There was no justification for the theory advanced by the caste Hindus that the Depressed Classes had been born as untouchables for their sins in their previous lives It was rank injustice and sin to deny the rights of human beings to the members of the Depressed Classes.

The surest way of serving God, according to all religions, is to serve the poor. By using khadi people could easily do that If the use of khadi became more popular millions of people in India, who were now starving, would be assured of at least one full meal A person buying even one rupee worth of khadi could be sure that fifteen annas of it would go to the poor and keep them from starvation.

The Leader, 27-7-1934

270. SPEECH AT ARYA SAMAJ

KANPUR,
July 25, 1934

Gandhiji felt grateful to the Sabha for having invited him to receive the address.[1] Gandhiji agreed with the members of the Sabha that Swami Dayanand had tried to serve the Depressed Classes and that he had taken a great part in the removal of untouchability Mahatma Gandhi said that his connection with the Arya Samaj was not recent but dated back to the time when he was in South Africa and he was glad to mention that the connection was getting closer and stronger. In the end, Mahatma Gandhi wished that his connection with the Arya Samaj might get closer still in future and that he and the Arya Samaj might serve their God and country together.

The Leader, 29-7-1934

[1] The source had reported that the address was presented at 5 p.m by the U P Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. It "gave an account of the work which was being done by the Arya Samaj, specially in connection with the anti-untouchability movement".

271. *ANSWERS TO ZAMINDARS*[1]

July 25, 1934

QUESTION. The Karachi Congress passed a resolution laying down the fundamental rights of the people and, since it recognized private property, nationalist zamindars have supported the Congress. But the new Socialist Party in the Congress threatens the extinction of private property. How would it affect the Congress policy? Do you not think that this will precipitate class war? Will you prevent it?

ANSWER. The Karachi resolution can be altered only by an open session of the next Congress, but let me assure you that I shall be no party to dispossessing the propertied classes of their private property without just cause. My object is to reach your hearts and convert you so that you may hold all your private property in trust for your tenants and use it primarily for their welfare.

I am aware of the fact that within the ranks of the Congress a new party called the Socialist Party is coming into being and I cannot say what would happen if that party succeeds in carrying the Congress with it. But I am quite clear that if a strictly honest and unchallengeable referendum of our millions were to be taken, they would not vote for wholesale expropriation of the propertied classes. I am working for the co-operation and co-ordination of capital and labour and of landlords and tenants. It is open to you to join the Congress as much as it is open to the poorest by paying the fee of four annas and subscribing to the Congress creed.

But I must utter a note of warning. I have always told the mill-owners that they are not exclusive owners of the mills. Workmen are equal sharers in the ownership. In the same way, I would tell you that the ownership of your land belongs as much to the ryots as to you and you may not squander your gains in luxurious or extravagant living, but must use them for the well-being of the ryots. Once you make your ryots experience a sense of kinship with you and a sense of security that their interests as members of the family will never suffer at your hands, you may be sure that there cannot be a class war between you and them.

[1] According to the source, this appeared as "reported by Mahadev Desai" and "revised by Gandhiji". Gandhiji answered the questions which "the zamindars read out to him".

Class war is foreign to the essential genius of India which is capable of evolving a form of communism broad-based on the fundamental rights of all and equal justice to all. The *Ramarajya* of my dream ensures the rights alike of prince and pauper.

You may be sure that I shall throw the whole weight of my influence in preventing class war. I do not know what I am going to do after the termination of my self-imposed restriction on August 3, but I shall try my best to avoid going back to prison. But it is difficult to predict anything with certainty in a situation of which I am unaware today. But supposing that there is an attempt unjustly to deprive you of your property, you will find me fighting on your side.

We propose to support Congress candidates in the next Assembly elections. But we have our misgiving about the policy they will adopt in the Assembly. Could you persuade the Parliamentary Board to dispel our fears?

I invite you to discuss this thing with the members of the Parliamentary Board. I know however that no member will talk of expropriation or extinction of private property. They will certainly insist on a radical reform in your relations with the ryots but that should be no new thing to you. Even Sir Malcolm Hailey[1] and Lord Irwin appealed to you to realize and live up to the spirit of the times. If you will only do this, you may be sure that we shall be able to evolve an indigenous socialism of the purest type.

Socialism and communism of the West are based on certain conceptions which are fundamentally different from ours. One such conception is their belief in the essential selfishness of human nature. I do not subscribe to it, for I know that the essential difference between man and brute is that the former can respond to the call of spirit in him and can rise superior to the passions that he owns in common with the brute and therefore superior to selfishness and violence which belong to brute nature and not to the immortal spirit of man.

That is the fundamental conception of Hinduism, which has years of penance and austerity at the back of the discovery of their truth. That is why whilst we had had saints who have burnt out their bodies and laid down their lives in order to explore the secrets of the soul, we have none as in the West who have laid down their lives in exploring the remotest or highest regions of earth. Our socialism or communism should therefore be based on non-violence and on the harmonious co-operation of labour and capital and the landlord and the tenant.

[1] Governor of U P.

There is nothing in the Congress creed or policy that need frighten you. All your fears and misgivings, permit me to tell you, are those of a guilty conscience. Wipe out the injustice that you may have been consciously or unconsciously guilty of and shed all fear of the Congress and Congressmen.

Once you turn a new leaf in the relations between zamindars and ryots, you will find us on your side jealously guarding your private rights and property. When I say "us", I have Pandit Jawaharlal also in mind, for I am sure that on this essential principle of non-violence there is no difference between us. He does indeed talk of nationalization of property, but it need not frighten you.

The nation cannot own property except by vesting it in individuals. It simply ensures its just and equitable use and prevents all possible misuse, and I do not think you can have any possible objection to holding your property for the benefit of the ryots. The ryots have themselves no greater ambition than to live in peace and freedom and they will never grudge you your possession of property provided you use it for them.

You have been almost avoiding us and the villages Why not have candidates belonging to the rural classes?

You may be sure that we are going to penetrate the villages and establish healthy relations with you.

The Pioneer, 3-8-1934

272. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 26, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

This is being written with the vegetable in the one hand and pen in the other. The mailing time is near. So I can only send you love.

BAPU

From the original: C. W. 6293. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G. N. 9759

273. LETTER TO SARITA

July 26, 1934

CHI. SARITA,

I have your letter. I was waiting for it. It is not that you have not seen happiness as well as misery. Mix well with the sisters there. I have no other place in Bombay. My relations with that family are very old. Isn't Nirmala's place a home? It is always crammed. But whether it is crammed or not there is room in that family for everyone. Still if you can manage to stay there, do so. I have written to both the sisters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: G. N. 11529

274. DISCUSSION WITH CONGRESS, HARIJAN AND KHADI WORKERS

KANPUR,
July 26, 1934

Mahatma Gandhi had another busy day in the course of which he held illuminating discussions with Congress, Harijan, and khadi workers. He gave them sound advice on many matters and pointed out that they must develop a very high sense of discipline without which no real advancement was possible He pointed out that the volunteers like others had their shortcomings but it was neither difficult nor impossible to overcome them. They must keep before themselves the high ideals which impelled them to render service to their fellow-brothers and keep in view that they were servants of the people and as such always prepared to render them help in every possible way. He pointed out that they should be ever ready to suffer for the cause of the country and discharge the duties entrusted to them honestly and faithfully and diligently. Volunteers, he said, had great obligations and it was more difficult to discharge those obligations than it was to speak about their duties.

He exhorted khadi workers to carry on their work unceasingly and nothing should deter them from carrying on khadi sales, for the use of khadi alone was the surest way of serving God and the service of God was the service of the poor. The use of khadi would provide food to the starving millions. . . Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have pointed out to Congressmen

to seek the co-operation of non-Congress workers, give them offices and serve under them Let them have no distinction between Congress and non-Congressmen, he said, for Harijan work interested everybody alike. He felt that healthy co-operation between Congress and non-Congressmen in Harijan work would prove very beneficial to the Harijans He appealed to them to seek the help of non-Congress workers as much as they possibly could [1]

The Congress workers asked for his views on class war and desired to know if it could be non-violent He replied that it could not be non-violent in the form in which it was spoken of today. Whenever there came up question of crushing anybody it became violence.

Asked if the present policy of the Congress Socialist Party would injure the Congress cause, he said that he had no complaint if the policy was so outlined in the manifesto issued from Bombay Asked if socialism was against Congress policy, Gandhiji said that socialism was a good thing. He himself was a socialist. But his definition was always non-violent, and what he really meant was expressed in the Karachi resolution and he still stuck to that and would go no further.

Asked what attitude Congressmen must adopt towards zamindars, he said that there should be a brotherly affection and that our aim must be to end injustice and bring about *samanvaya*[2]. They had to change hearts He said that a feeling had been created amongst the zamindars that when they got swaraj, zamindars would be robbed of all they had. Supposing Government were pleased to award some land to a man in 1857, how could it be fair to rob his grand-children today of this property? If his land was taken, the State must pay appropriate compensation. Similarly a man who purchased land today and duly paid its price, could not be deprived of it

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma questioned whether we should ameliorate the tenants' condition while zamindars were there. Out of Rs 19 crores realized from the peasantry of the U P., only Rs 7 crores went to Government Treasury, the rest Rs. 12 crores being taken by the zamindars.

Gandhiji, replying, said that it was true that Rs 12 crores should not go to them unless they rendered services to the peasantry of the same value. There had been times when they took Rs. 12 crores and rendered services worth Rs. 24 crores, but today the return was not worth even Rs. 12.

To destroy them would be no solution and violence would creep in. They should not make zamindars another sect of untouchables. They must get the Tenancy Acts enacted on lines different from those of the present Acts. There were no zamindars in Gujarat, still tenantry conditions remained the same.

Asked what work should be done amongst the tenants, Gandhiji said that much of their sufferings resulted from their ignorance, which should be

[1] What follows is reproduced from *The Hindustan Times*, 27-7-1934.
[2] Harmony

removed. As they remained without work for six months in the year, they could be supplied with some cottage industries. Another thing he emphasized was training in hygiene and health besides education.

Asked what the workers should do in cases where lands had been confiscated during the civil disobedience and where zamindars refused to restore the same, Gandhiji said that the only way open to them was to approach the zamindars and appeal to their sense of justice He hoped zamindars would be brought round, but if they could not they should approach law-courts and sue them for justice.

Referring to civil resistance, he said that none should practise it, for he had found after attempting to penetrate into the masses' mind all these years since 1920 that they could not develop a sense of discipline.

In the end, he was asked why the clause of habitual wearer of khadi for purposes of franchise was not deleted when it was found that it was impracticable to get habitual wearers even in small numbers. He referred to the same question when it was raised by Mr. Pranjapay in the same city His reply then was that if they really desired to be with the masses, they must keep that clause in the franchise rules, but that if they wanted to delete it, he was prepared not to exercise his right of veto when the question came up for voting He would be quite satisfied if there were only one hundred Congressmen who used khadi rather than a crore who did not.

The Leader, 30-7-1924; also *The Hindustan Times*, 27-7-1934

275. *SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, KANPUR*

July 26, 1934

Gandhiji, replying, said that Rs 501 was too small an amount from Cawnpore women. They were rich and could give more if they wanted to. He was all the same obliged to them and felt sure, he said, that they would give more. He then emphasized that women had a very important part to play in the Harijan uplift movement He called upon them to take up uplift work and do their best to improve the social and economic condition of the Harijans who, he said, were as important a unit of human society as the caste Hindus. Women, he said, could do a good deal more than men and therefore women must come out and take up the work in all earnestness, sincerity and devotion which was characteristic of the womenfolk. He appealed to them in strong terms to use khadi for therein, he said, lay the salvation of the struggling and starving millions By using khadi they could provide them with work and food. Charkha, he said, was the panacea for all ills Charkha, he said, was remarkable and by the use of charkha women could bring about the economic emancipation of the country. He laid great stress

on women's education. No social uplift, he said, was possible unless women were educated. An educated woman was an asset not only to the family but to the country as a whole

He then exhorted them to give up *purdah*, come out and take up the responsible duties which they had to discharge. *Purdah* killed their independence It took away their spirit, their very life and the sooner the womenfolk gave it up the better for all concerned.

The Leader, 30-7-1934

276. LETTER TO M. S. ANEY

[Before *July 27, 1934*][1]

The moving train is responsible for making my bad writing worse.

Neither Malaviyaji nor you have sent me any suggestions for removing your difficulty. I have been taxing myself for a solution. The more I think about it, the clearer I become that the Working Committee resolution is faultless. Non-committal is the only position the Congress can take up. We must not tease the communal boil. The more we tease it, the worse it becomes. In my opinion it is a fatal blunder to turn our attention from the White Paper. If the reforms are not killed, the Award will stand in spite of agitation. The reforms can be killed by sustained effort. But I heard you say that the Award was worse than the reforms!

Reminiscences of Gandhiji, p. 211

277. DISCUSSION WITH SOCIALISTS' DEPUTATION[2]

BENARES,
July 27, 1934

The deputationists, who were invited by Gandhiji for a free and open discussion, are reported to have told him that the Congress programme as it stood fell far short of the socialist demand and that he should use his influence with the Congress executive to adopt the socialist programme as envisaged in the Patna resolution of the Socialists' Conference.

[1] In the source, Chandrashankar Shukla explains that this letter was written before the Congress Working Committee meeting at Benares.

[2] Led by Narendra Dev

Gandhiji is understood to have deprecated frequent and unwarranted socialist attacks on the Congress executive and its programme and plainly told socialists that they should either be prepared to abide by the Congress decision without attempting to create unnecessary splits in Congress ranks or take over charge of the Congress machinery including its executive He and other members of the executive were prepared to hand over control and make room for them if they so desired

The socialists, who were evidently taken aback, came out disappointed in the main, but somewhat mollified by the assurance that Gandhiji gave them that he would put their suggestions before the Working Committee and after full consultation with them get the Committee to pass a resolution clearly defining the Congress attitude towards socialism, confiscation of property, etc.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-7-1934

278. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

July 28, 1934

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

Can you not collect from the public what you have spent for the Congress? But if you must pay, it is better to do so as early as possible and avoid interest. Therefore you must give more attention to practice than you are doing.

I am quite clear that you should keep away from the Congress and the elections.

I do not at all appreciate Dr. Kitchlew's fast. I hope it will have ended when this reaches you.

I shall await your letter on khadi.

I am ashamed to have put you to all that taxing trouble during my stay.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers Courtesy: Pyarelal

279. MANIFESTO OF CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD[1]

BENARES,
July 29, 1934

The Parliamentary Board appointed by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting at Patna on May 19 appeals to the voters of the Legislative Assembly at the forthcoming elections to record their votes in favour of Congress candidates.

The Congress policy has been declared and the Board has received its mandate from the Working Committee in the following resolution[2] passed by that body at Bombay on June 18.

Though much has been written for and against the part of the resolution regarding the so-called Communal Award, the line is absolutely clear so far as Congress candidates are concerned. By common consent it is intrinsically bad. It is anti-national. But the Congress cannot refuse to take into account the attitude of Mussalmans in general, who seem to want the Award; nor can the Congress accept it as the Hindus and Sikhs reject it. No other policy than that explained above is consistent with the aim and history of the Congress, which has throughout stood for peace and unity and founded all its activities on the firm belief that the various communities of India will act justly and honourably towards one another. The only thing, therefore, that Congress candidates and the Congress can do is to promote and assist in securing an agreed solution. Suffice it to say that we shall never reach such a solution by appealing to a third party or power. Then, again, those who have confidence about successful opposition to the White Paper proposals need not feel concerned about the Award. They should know that if the White Paper lapses, the Award, which was framed for the White Paper, must automatically lapse. If the Award is bad, the White Paper is worse. The Parliamentary Board has, therefore, to concentrate the attention of the voters on the rejection of the White Paper and, as the only alternative to it, upon securing and convening a constituent assembly.

[1] The source had reported that the manifesto was drafted by Gandhiji. It was released to the Press after its approval by the Board which met in the morning; *vide* the following item

[2] *Vide* Appendix I.

The White Paper is in no way designed to secure complete or even partial independence. It can easily retard the nation's progress towards it. It proposes a costly pretence of representative institutions in India, with all the real control retained abroad. The safeguards wherewith it bristles are not conceived for the protection of the interests of India. On the contrary, they can easily be shown to prevent its economic progress, to deepen the poverty of the masses and to perpetuate the British exploitation of and domination over India. If the proposals contained in the White Paper are carried out, there will be no national control over the army or external affairs, and the burden of military expenditure will remain what it has been, and in effect foreign control will continue over the finance and fiscal and economic policy of India. If it be said that the proposals at least seek to give complete autonomy to the provinces, it is hedged in by restrictions that make it a sham and a shadow. No wonder, almost all parties have more or less condemned the White Paper scheme.

What is the alternative? Though the Congress claims to represent the whole nation, in the opinion of the Government it is only one of the political parties, albeit very powerful. Time will show what the position of the Congress is in the country. The voters at the forthcoming elections also may show it somewhat. But it is clear that the Congress must not frame any constitution only to be rejected by the Government. The Working Committee has, therefore, as stated above, suggested an infallible alternative—a constituent assembly to be elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near as it may be. We know that such an assembly can be convened only by an agreement between the Governing Powers and the people, unless it is after a successful revolution. We have in contemplation the former. We do not despair of its acceptance if the electors choose their representatives in the forthcoming elections with a clear mandate that a constituent assembly is the only alternative to the White Paper. True, the existing franchise is narrow and therefore not truly representative of the masses. The constitution of the Assembly is, further, such that the members elected by the people cannot play an effective part in it. Nevertheless, if the verdict of the electorate is unequivocal, it cannot be flouted.

If the voters reject the White Paper and insist on a constituent assembly, it will no longer be said by the British bureaucracy that the people are quite satisfied with the methods and measures of the British Government and whatever they plan for them. It will be no small gain to have the illusion dispelled. Every vote for a

Congress candidate, that is, for a constituent assembly in place of the White Paper, will help to clear the atmosphere. We hope all communities will unite on this simple issue.

This rejection of the White Paper and the acceptance of a constituent assembly is not all that the Congress representatives will attempt. They cannot be unmindful of the reactionary legislation passed during the past few years, unhappily often with elected members' votes. Nor can they be unmindful of the way in which the non-violent struggle for liberty was met by Ordinances of extraordinary severity, and of the great sacrifices of thousands of Congressmen, including many women, who went to prison, suffered privations and lathi charges and submitted to heavy fines and confiscation of property. It will be the duty of those Congress candidates who are elected to press for their restoration wherever possible and the repeal of the repressive laws and of the Ordinances, now called Acts of the legislature. The extraordinarily drastic methods adopted towards Congress organizations in the Frontier Province will demand their special attention. It will also be their duty to demand an impartial scrutiny of the methods adopted by the Government in the Assembly for the purpose of meeting terrorism and to take measures to give effect to public opinion in regard to them.

The Congress Parliamentary Party will miss no opportunity of rendering such national service, be it small or great, as is possible through the legislatures. We are fully aware that the powers of the legislatures, provincial and central, are too small for the effort which the nation must make for the realization of its goal of complete independence. The constructive programme of the Congress, the successful prosecution of which alone can make our demand irresistible, can be most effectively carried on only outside the legislature. But there are matters which can be dealt with only through the legislatures and which will engage the attention of the Congress Party.

In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. The economic policy of the Party will, therefore, be in accordance with the fundamental rights and the economic programme contained in the Karachi resolution of the All-India Congress Committee.

The Board, therefore, appeals to voters to unmistakably show that they stand for the Congress methods and objective and that they condemn the present bureaucratic rule and its methods.

The Leader, 1-8-1934

280. SPEECH ON MANIFESTO OF CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD, BENARES

July 29, 1934

It is understood that in the course of discussion on the manifesto of the Parliamentary Board at the joint meeting of the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board, Mahatma Gandhi made a most powerful and moving speech in support of the manifesto. He wanted to remove one misapprehension about the Congress Parliamentary Board. He had come to the conclusion that parliamentary mentality had come to stay in the Congress. It was no longer a question of the obstructionist policy alone of the old Swaraj Party. The Parliamentary Board's idea was of contesting the elections to go to legislatures and remain there for the rejection of the White Paper, the convening of a constituent assembly, the repeal of repressive laws and the carrying on of a constructive programme and other national activities of the Congress to the extent opportunities were available.

Referring to the work of the old Swaraj Party, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have said that he felt satisfied that they had rendered a good account of themselves in the legislatures There was not a single speech of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru of which the nation need be ashamed. They had produced a good moral effect.

Answering a question whether Congressmen may not be in a minority. Mahatma Gandhi said that while hoping for a majority, he was willing to concede that they might be in minority; but all depended on the personnel of the minority.

Referring to Mr. Satyamurti, he said that even if he were in the minority of one, he (Mahatma Gandhi) was confident that he would give a good account of himself The Congress was also learning by experience as the Government was. Several things in connection with civil disobedience and other matters might not have happened as they had happened, had Congressmen been in the legislatures He was confident, of course, that Congressmen would come out of the legislatures if they were called upon to do so by the Working Committee of the Congress, but he did not believe in calling them out unless there was a supreme need for the same and the Congressmen in the legislatures had voluntarily agreed on the course. Even if civil disobedience were to be re-started, the Congress might not call on Congress members in the legislatures to come out, for after all, even if a crore of Indians offered civil disobedience they could easily spare about a thousand Congressmen for work in the legislatures. Today the Government were enacting repressive measure after repressive

measure, like the Bengal Act recently passed by the Assembly, and claiming before the world that they had the support of the elected members of the Assembly for the purpose The Congress would be able to deprive the Government of that excuse

In conclusion, Gandhiji said that a manifesto was to be issued by the Congress Parliamentary Board for all work in legislatures subject to the control of the Congress in matters of policy which would be laid down from time to time.

The Leader, 1-8-1934

281. SPEECH AT CENTRAL BOARD MEETING OF HARJAN SEVAK SANGH, BENARES[1]

July 29, 1934

There are two questions on which I have to speak to you —one in connection with the nature of the whole organization and the other in connection with the idea of having a training institution for workers for a period or for life. To take up the first question, I know there is a general desire to introduce an element of democracy—voting, election, etc.—into our organization. I was torn between two opposites; but, after having gone through this nine months' tour, I have come to the conclusion that in an organization like ours there is no room for election, democracy or anything of that sort. Ours is a different kind of institution. It is not a people's organization in the ordinary sense. We handle money merely as self-appointed trustees, using it solely for the benefit of the Harijans, and in such a manner that it finds its way directly into their pockets. Ours is an organization formed with a view to doing our duty by those whom we have despised. We are an organization to give effect to the pledge given to Harijans at Bombay by the great meeting[2] held under the chairmanship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. The people who pay to the Harijan Fund do so, we assume, in a penitent spirit, and all we have to do is to utilize it for the Harijans. To run an elective institution means expense and delay. Our aim is to distribute the funds among the Harijans with as little expenditure and delay as possible. We do not want any intervening

[1] Published under the title "A Talk to the Workers", this appeared as "a condensed summary" of Gandhiji's speech "at the conclusion of the proceedings" at Kashi Vidyapith on July 28 and 29.

[2] *Vide* Vol. LI, p. 139.

medium between Harijans and ourselves. We are mere trustees, and the trust descends to those whom we appoint. There are people who say the donors ought to have a voice in the administration. I should say, they do not know. To me, he who pays a pie is as much a donor as, say, Ghanshyamdas Birla, who pays ten to fifty thousand. Maybe, the value of that pie is greater than the ten thousand rupees that Ghanshyamdas may give. I have seen in Orissa poor people untying their knots and parting with their coppers. That has given me more hope and greater pleasure than the thousands, however willingly given. The thousands without the coppers would be of little use in this cause of self-purification. But the thousands of the poor donors will never receive the vote. We do not even know their names. And still we are as much responsible to them as to the big donors, or even more. We are a charitable institution, depending for its existence upon honest and efficient management. And if we are to have the highest amount of efficiency, we have to select the best and the most honest workers.

Having said this, I leave it entirely to you to decide. I look at the movement as purely religious, moral or humanitarian. It is to me purely one of reparation and penitence. I do not know to what extent all the lakhs of donors share with me the belief in the penitential character of the work. But so far as I am concerned, I woud declare that there is nothing in my mind save the desire to expiate for sins we have been guilty of all these years. Therefore I cannot think of the movement in terms of any political end. Not that it will not have political results, but we need not give a moment's thought to them. The results will be surer, our relation with Mussalmans and other communities will be infinitely purer, if we keep only the larger end in view, and no other, as a result of this movement. I want everyone to dismiss the thought from his mind that our aim has been to raise an army of six crores of *goondas*. That certainly is not how I would think of defending Hinduism. I am sure that it can stand against the whole world, if it is purged of the curse of untouchability. This is no narrow movement; it is, I hope, the broadest of movements of our times.

The second question is easier. As a matter of fact, it follows from what I have said. I believe in the ideal of life-service. I want servants whose sole ambition is to devote themselves body, mind and soul to the Harijan cause. If we had ten thousand such workers—I make bold to say even if we had a thousand, we should have startling results. I would welcome a training institution for such workers. In Pinetown, near Durban in South

Africa, there is a Trappist monastery[1]. The rigour observed at the time, now more than thirty years ago, when I visited the place, was very great. They had nothing like privacy for themselves; they had one long hall in which they stretched themselves; they had to get up at 2.30 a.m.; they had purely vegetarian food; they strictly observed the vow of silence. Only two or three who had to go to the market or to speak to visitors could speak. All others had to work silently. They were giving instruction to the Zulus. Their proselytization consisted in working among the Zulus and giving them the best of their life. They were workers for life. They were all learned sannyasins. They added to their learning a calling. They were carpenters, smiths, porters, shoemakers. They made all sorts of experiments. Their monastery was a model of beauty, a veritable garden, with not a particle of dust anywhere, and there was a sweet silence pervading the whole atmosphere. Zulu students were taken as raw youths and discharged as accomplished artisans. My idea is to have a training institution of this type. If anything, I would do better. But we are today fallen from grace. We used to have this rigorous discipline in our country but we have not progressed, while they have progressed. They have made researches and increased their heritage. If we can make anything like an approach to them, I should be satisfied. If we can get even five persons who are prepared to forget father, mother and children, and to devote themselves to Harijan service, I would have them. They would form the nucleus. But if we cannot aim so high, we may conduct an industrial home or a Harijan hostel or some other thing. Sheth Shivratan Mohatta has an industrial school in Karachi out of an endowment made by his brother. He had got two teachers from Dayalbagh (Agra), which has its own aroma and its own Western finish. The students are kept well, there is a good boarding-house and a good dormitory. There are two departments—boot-making and tailoring. It is not a training institution but an industrial home. The Harijans there are conscious that they will not be discharged without being taught some handicraft, so that, when they come out, they will not be thrown on the streets. We may multiply such institutions.

We, Harijan workers, have not done justice to ourselves. Many of us are not workers even to a passable type. They have not given their whole time to their work; they do it in a leisurely fashion. I have often asked them, 'Do you read *Harijan*?' They

[1] *Vide* Vol. I, pp. 222-8.

have said, 'No'. Out of the three editions of this weekly—English, Gujarati and Hindi—English and Gujarati are self-supporting; Hindi is not. Sufficient reception has not been given to these journals, though much labour is put forth in the preparation of these. Even in this preparation, sufficient help is not coming forth. Workers do not send information, facts. They do not go in for a discussion of problems as they occur from day to day. For, problems occur to workers and not to thinkers. If our workers were alive to their work, they would flood the editors with matter from which poor editors might find it difficult to make selections. Today they are starved. *Harijan* is a workers' journal, for their guidance and for the interchange of their thoughts. I do not want for it essays. I have been pained to be asked questions by workers who should find the answers in the journal, if they were reading it carefully. But many do not read it at all. If you do not read the budget of news collected in these pages, how are you going to hold the movement together? You must know what is being done by sister organizations. We have not got itinerant messengers who will take the story of the vicissitudes of institutions from place to place. That would be a costly medium. But we have *Harijan*. It is full of information, but it can still be filled with more accurate information and greater variety.

Please do not run away with the idea that I am not capable of recognizing what little has been done. Nice things are there, but they do not need to be recounted. Virtue is its own reward. But I am an inspector. I must show you the blemishes and not tickle your ears with praise for the good things that you have done.

A word about the Harijan Ashram at Sabarmati. It is a big thing. It is not being made full use of. It is nobody's fault. Poor Parikshitlal is there, but it is beyond his capacity to conduct it. He has also to look to the work of the whole of Gujarat. To utilize this institution fully would be an immense task for anybody. The burden of conducting and maintaining it will be on trustees specially appointed. Many baffling problems arise there from day to day. You can now understand why we want men of the Trappist type before we can make the fullest use of the big Ashram at Sabarmati.

Harijan, 24-8-1934

282. SPEECH ON NATIONAL EDUCATION[1]

July 29, 1934

Gandhiji dwelt at length on the National education as imparted now-adays and remarked that the Vidyapith up till now confined itself to towns only He said that the time has come when the National education should be spread in villages and pointed out the necessity for the same.

I am fully aware of the part that Vidyapith played in the national movement. I am ever ready to give any advice on the subject.

The Bombay Chronicle, 31-7-1934

283. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

July 30, 1934

MY DEAR ANAND,

I have your letter. Jeramdas has supplemented it with news about both you and Vidya.

I understand that you need Rs. 50 per month from July to October and thereafter would need Rs. 100 per month. I shall arrange for this sum to be paid to you. I want you to reduce your wants at least to the Ashram standard but not at the sacrifice of your or Vidya's or Mahadev's health.

You should get yourself examined by a competent doctor and put your body in order.

Concentrate on your work to the exclusion of everything else. If you do this you will derive the keenest joy from it and that will by itself be a great help towards re-building your body.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

[1] The source had reported that professors of Kashi Vidyapith and many leading national educationists were present.

284. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

July 30, 1934

Your letter was all right. I got it only today. It was given to me immediately after the meeting of the Working Committee had ended.

There is an error in your suggestion, namely, that at present we are not offering civil disobedience. Appointing Abdul Ghaffar Khan would violate norms. Nobody has understood the difference between the present programme and the previous one. Our actions and words have become too arrogant. That is a sign of violence. Not only do we lack the regard and courtesy which we should show even towards an enemy, but I feel that falsehood and arrogance, instead of diminishing, are increasing among the workers. This requires further explanation, but I don't have time for that just now. If you wish to know the reasons, when we meet and if I have time, you may ask me.

You also have been appointed one of the Treasurers.[1] See that you don't overtax your health. You can't afford to do that.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p 149

285. STATEMENT ON FAST

BENARES,
July 30, 1934

It is to be hoped that no one would take the trouble to come to Wardha, i.e., from August 7 to 14 next and during convalescence. I would need perfect rest and quiet during these days. The best way of showing their sympathy and sustaining me would be for every friend to do the utmost he or she can to befriend the Harijans in every way they can and win over opponents by correct and gentle behaviour. Those who have courageously admitted their error will do their share not by joining in the fast

[1] According to the source, four treasurers of the Reception Committee were appointed for the Congress session which was to be held in October in Bombay.

but by making a firm resolve not to repeat the error which has occasioned this fast.

The Leader, 1-8-1934

286. DISCUSSION WITH VALLABHBHAI PATEL[1]

[On or after *July 30, 1934*][2]

GANDHIJI : It is my view that we should now let the library remain with the Municipality and, if possible, have a separate trust made for it.[3] I think that we are thus making a good use of the library but, of course, if the other trustees do not like this idea, we should not hesitate to ask for its return. This is not a question of prestige, and therefore whatever is proper should be done. I have no doubt Kakasaheb will be big enough not to mind it. When I think over the matter further, I must admit that even if Kakasaheb overlooked these points, I should have considered whether he had the necessary authority. Rushed as I was, I dealt with many matters hurriedly and this was one of those into which I did not go fully.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL: According to Kakasaheb, it was you who first suggested that the Vidyapith library might be given to the Municipality.

GANDHIJI : I do not remember making this suggestion, but if he says so, I am prepared to accept that I may have done so. . . .[4]

It is true that they too had no authority. I would only say this much that any bequest made by one who had no authority to make it could always be taken back. If, therefore, it is considered proper to take these books back, they should be taken back. I think, however, that if at that time Kakasaheb had asked every-

[1] & [2] In the source, Narahari Parikh explains that the discussion was carried on through writing on a Silence Day after Vallabhbhai Patel's release on July 14. Vallabhbhai Patel met Gandhiji in Banaras on August 1, 1934; *vide* p. 271.

[3] Narahari Parikh explains that in July 1933, when Sabarmati Ashram was disbanded, the Ashram Library was entrusted to the Ahmedabad Municipality. Later on the Gujarat Vidyapith Library also was disposed of in like manner, after Gandhiji had a discussion with D. B Kalelkar Vallabhbhai Patel and some other trustees of the Vidyapith who were in jail at that time could not be consulted. Vallabhbhai Patel, who did not like the move when he heard of it in jail, sought Gandhiji's guidance after his release. *Vide* also "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", 21-8-1934 and "Letter to G. V. Mavalankar", 15-9-1934.

[4] Narahari Parikh infers: "The Sardar must then have spoken about the rights of the trustees. . . "

body, possibly everyone concerned would have agreed. . . .[1]

You say that the trustees had no right. Very well, if that is so then you must take back the books.[2]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Vol. II, p 163

287. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BENARES

July 31, 1934

I am very happy that by God's grace I have had a second opportunity to visit Kashiji. The joy becomes greater when I realize that my Harijan tour will end in this holy place. If there are any who hold a different opinion, please come up to this platform and say something. I do not know why the Pandit[3] of the Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh could not be present here. Harijan uplift is a religious upheaval. There is no room for prejudice in this task. However hard I may try, I am also prone to make mistakes and I have committed them. I have never claimed that I have never erred nor that I ever will. What I am admitting today is nothing new. Ever since my childhood I have realized this fact. Even as a child, I followed my own way and never recognized untouchability. I was taught the Ramanama *mantra* which would always protect me. If I had forgotten to admit this self-evident fact, I shall not in the least be ashamed to admit it in this holy place. Untouchability as it exists today has no place in the Shastras. Untouchability is a blot on Hinduism. So many pundits have come here at my invitation and many of their own accord. They have tried to justify the present form of untouchability by quoting the Shastras; but I respectfully beg to say that, while attempting to understand the arguments put forth by the pundits I am in no way convinced of them.

I feel sad to say that according to the census published by the Government, untouchables number about seven crores. The

[1] Narahari Parikh infers: "Vallabhbhai must then have said that the trustees had no right to make such a bequest to a Government-controlled institution"

[2] Subsequently, Vallabhbhai Patel, after obtaining legal opinion from K. M Munshi and Bhulabhai Desai, moved the Municipality which on its part consulted Bahadurji, another distinguished lawyer, and returned the books to the Vidyapith.

[3] Reference is to Devanayakacharya, who, however, came late. In his "Weekly Letter" (*Harijan*, 17-8-1934), Valji G. Desai had explained that "a representative of Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh and Bharata Dharma Mahamandal" had been invited to "present their standpoint before Gandhiji's speech".

census officers do not take the trouble to find out whether every one of these is an untouchable according to the laws of Manu. They write whatever the census inspectors report. Census is taken every ten years and the population increases or decreases in these ten years. A dog can drink from a reservoir, but a thirsty Harijan boy may not. If he goes, he cannot escape being beaten. Untouchability as practised today considers man worse than a dog.

A Harijan was down with pneumonia. A sanatanist doctor was called on payment. He accepted the fees but how could he touch the patient? He sent for a Muslim, gave him a watch and told him: "Please tell me how many times his pulse beats in a minute." The doctor was given the pulse-count, he wrote the prescription and left. A second doctor was then called. He examined the patient's lungs and heart carefully and then prescribed medicine; the sick man then recovered. Such kind of untouchability practised now has no sanction in the Shastras. In my opinion no *shastri* will be prepared to admit it. Neither my mind nor my heart will admit that such untouchability has sanction of the Shastras.

I shall say nothing more now.[1] It is my first duty to give Panditji an opportunity to speak. At this time I shall say only one word more. I am very grateful for the address of welcome given to me by the Kashi pundits. I consider it your blessings to me. I am thankful for the money presented to me. Although it is a small sum, I have been promised that efforts will be made to collect more money. Kindly remain quiet and listen to Panditji with attention and follow the dictates of your reason as regards the removal of untouchability. I hope you will all listen to Panditji's speech with due respect.[2]

After what Pandit Malaviyaji has said from the bottom of his heart, I have nothing more to add. I thank Pandit Devanayakacharya for the valuable advice he gave you in his calm and short speech. I thank you all for having listened to the speeches quietly. But if I do not reply to Devanayakacharyaji it would be considered bad manners. Panditji's chief objection was in connection with the Temple-entry Bill. I shall have no objection if, as Malaviyaji has suggested, there is a talk between us both and some way is found in the future by which with the consent of temple-goers there

[1] Devanavakacharya had just arrived.

[2] In his speech, Devanayakacharya opposed the Temple-entry Bill and said that Gandhiji was introducing an innovation undermining the importance of sanatana dharma Madan Mohan Malaviya who spoke next made a forceful appeal in support of the reform.

would be no legal obstruction to temple-entry by Harijans. I have already said that without the consent of the Hindus no law will be made on this subject. Rest assured with this reply. Regarding the Bill, I made no reference to it in my Harijan tour; I did not even mention the name of the Bill. This has to be said about discussions: Today or in the future, discussions can take place anywhere; but religion is not a subject to be understood by the intellect but one that is accepted by the heart. Except the temple-entry question I do not see anyone against any other question. I neither wish to force anyone nor do I wish to quarrel with anyone. None should be afraid of me. I can do no harm nor evil to sanatana dharma. I am also a follower of the same sanatana dharma that you profess.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 10-8-1934

288. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

August 1, 1934

CHI. PREMA,

I got your fairly long and frank letter.

Parents don't think or talk about their children's good health. They think and talk about their diseases, which are not of the body only.

I am not surprised to learn that you are observing the Ashram rules. I would have been surprised indeed had you not observed them.

May you succeed in your noble aims.

Every day is one's birthday. We are born every day and we die every day and are born again. But, following convention, we regard a particular day of the year as our birthday. You certainly have my blessings for that day and for all other days of the year.

I am sending this reply through Narandas and thereby saving five pice. Narandas also will write to you. I have to write to him today and so, instead of sending the letter through Dhurandhar, I am sending it through him.

Please keep writing to me. Your description of that place was good. This letter is being written before the morning prayer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N 10357. Also C W 6796. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

289. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 1, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. It is strange that Santok can do no work. How is it that Baba[1] has been brought up in such a way that he doesn't let her attend to anything else? How do the children of the poor grow?

Ask Kusum, Lilavati and others to write to me when they feel inclined to do so. They should not, however, expect any letter from me, for I shall not be able to write any.

I got Prema's long letter. A reply[2] to her is enclosed.

Amala is extremely frank, but she has no common sense at all. If I sent her to you, she would waste your money. It is better that, so long as I live at one place, I should shoulder her responsibility. When I give up a fixed residence, I will see what to do about her. I will try to fix her permanently at the place where she may be at that time.

What work is Keshu doing? Where does he live? I often meet Rukhi here. Her health cannot be described as very good.

You should keep up the practice of writing to me on a fixed day once every week, whether or not there is any special business. If there is anything particular to write about, you may write as often as necessary. A postcard will do.

I am thinking about the dairy.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M M.U/I. Also C.W. 8405. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Madhav, son of Rukmini Bazaj

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

290. SPEECH AT BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

August 1, 1934

The Hindu University is not new to me. Since its inception[1] Malaviyaji had me associated with it and it remains exactly so to this day. If there has been any change, the association has been strengthened and my regard for this University is increasing. With the progress of this University there should be progress in dharma as well; this is Pandit Malaviyaji's idea. I hope students will acquire learning and will make good use of it and not accept a narrow view of religion. A broad-minded religion accepts all other religions in its fold. This is the auspicious occasion of Lokamanya Tilak's anniversary and I have come to tell you what we should do about one aspect of religion. I shall not speak of Lokamanya's political strength; I have also no freedom to touch upon that subject. I wish to tell you at this time what Tilak Maharaj said about religion. You should know that Lokamanya had great sympathy in his heart for the Harijan brothers. In our exchange of thoughts and ideas with each other, he said that in the *dharmashastra* there is no sanction for untouchability and there cannot be because truth ranks highest in the Hindu religion. If truth was put in one scale of the balance and all the rest in the other, even then the scale with truth in it will go down. No pundit can find anywhere in the Vedas, Puranas or history things said contrary to the principles of religion. There is no mention of untouchability in other religions. Hinduism alone seems to have taken a monopoly. There are several things mentioned in our religion which are not found elsewhere. If the varna system is abolished in our country, then Hinduism will also disappear. There is no connection between the varnashrama and the present-day concept of untouchability. My faith in this is growing stronger and after nine months of this tour I can avow it with greater conviction.[2]

I have been asked by Acharya Anandshankar Dhruva to say a few words on the *Gita* to the students of the Kashi Vishvavidyalaya. It is not without hesitation that I have accepted the invitation.

[1] For Gandhiji's speech on the occasion, *vide* Vol. XIII, pp 210-6.

[2] This paragraph is translated from the Hindi report in *Harijan Sevak*. What follows is reproduced from *Harijan*. It appeared under the title "*Gita*—The Mother".

What right can a layman like myself have to discourse on a theme like this in the presence of a savant like him? I have neither his profound scholarship, nor the deep study of our ancient religious lore which Pandit Malaviyaji, for instance, has. Sardar Vallabhbhai, in his characteristic manner, asked me this morning whether scavengers, cultivators, and weavers like him and me were not altogether out of court in a city of pundits like Kashi and in the presence of such learned pundits as Malaviyaji and Acharya Dhruva, and in a way he was right. But I have come here, not with any pretence to learning, but only to tell you what reaction the *Gita* had on lay natures like mine and the Sardar's. I wonder whether you have even a distant idea of how profoundly it affected the Sardar during his imprisonment. I am here to bear witness to the fact that in the Yeravda Prison it gave him more strength and sustenance than meat and drink. To read the *Gita* in the original he set about learning Sanskrit with the help of Pandit Satavalekar's Sanskrit self-instructor, and once he had started on it, the book seldom left his hands. It occupied him from morning till night. It was not an obsession of an unoccupied mind, as you might be tempted to think, but the result of deep thought. 'Which is the one book that can be to the Hindus what the Bible is to the Christians or the Koran to the Mussalmans?' we asked ourselves. Is it the Vedas? No. The *Bhagavata*? No. *Devipurana*? No. Early in my childhood I had felt the need of a scripture that would serve me as an unfailing guide through the trials and temptations of life. The Vedas could not supply that need, if only because to learn them would require fifteen to sixteen years of hard study at a place like Kashi, for which I was not ready then. But the *Gita*, I had read somewhere gave within the compass of its 700 verses the quintessence of all the Shastras and the Upanishads. That decided me. I learnt Sanskrit to enable me to read the *Gita*. Today the *Gita* is not only my Bible or my Koran; it is more than that—it is my mother. I lost my earthly mother who gave me birth long ago, but this eternal Mother has completely filled her place by my side ever since. She has never changed, She has never failed me. When I am in difficulty or distress, I seek refuge in Her bosom. Often in the course of my struggle against untouchability, I am confronted with conflicting opinions delivered by doctors of learning. Some of them tell me that untouchability as it is practised today has no sanction in Hinduism and they bless my efforts to eradicate it; but there are some others who maintain that untouchability has been an essential part of Hinduism from the very beginning. Which authority should I follow under the

circumstances? I feel absolutely at sea. The Vedas and the *smritis* are of no avail to me. I then approach the Mother and say, "Mother, these learned pundits have put me in a predicament. Help me out of my perplexity." And the Mother, with a smile, says in reply: 'The assurance[1] held out by me in the ninth chapter is not meant for the Brahmins only, but for the sinner and the outcaste, the downtrodden and the disinherited, too.' But in order to be worthy of that promise, we must be obedient and devoted children of the Mother and not disobedient and disloyal children, who only make a pretence of devotion.

It is sometimes alleged against the *Gita* that it is too difficult a work for the man in the street. The criticism, I venture to submit, is ill-founded. The *Gita* enabled the late Lokamanya, out of his encyclopaedic learning and study, to produce a monumental commentary. For him it was a store-house of profound truths to exercise his intellect upon. But that need not scare away a lay reader. If you find all the eighteen chapters too difficult to negotiate, make a careful study of the first three chapters only. They will give you in a nutshell what is propounded in greater detail and from different angles in the remaining fifteen chapters. Even these three chapters can be further epitomized in a few verses that can be selected from these chapters. Add to this the fact that at three distinct[2] places the *Gita* goes even further and exhorts to us to leave alone all 'isms' and take refuge in the Lord alone, and it will be seen how baseless is the charge that the message of the *Gita* is too subtle or complicated for lay minds to understand. The *Gita* is the universal Mother. She turns away nobody. Her door is wide open to anyone who knocks. A true votary of the *Gita* does not know what disappointment is. He ever dwells in perennial joy and peace that passeth understanding. But that peace and joy come not to the sceptic or to him who is proud of his intellect or learning. It is reserved only for the humble in spirit who brings to Her worship a fullness of faith and an undivided singleness of mind. There never was a man who worshipped Her in that spirit and went back disappointed.

Our students are prone to be upset by trifles. A trivial thing like failure in an examination plunges them into the darkest despair. The *Gita* inculcates upon them the duty of perseverance in the face of seeming failure. It teaches us that we have a right to action only but not to the fruit thereof and that success and fail-

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, IX. 32
[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 30, VIII. 7 and XVIII. 66

ure are one and the same thing at bottom.[1] It calls upon us to dedicate ourselves, body, mind and soul, to pure duty, and not to become mental voluptuaries at the mercy of all chance desires and undisciplined impulses. As a satyagrahi, I can declare that the *Gita* is ever presenting me with fresh lessons. If somebody tells me that this is my delusion, my reply to him would be that I shall hug this delusion as my richest treasure.

I would advise the students to begin their day with an early morning recitation of the *Gita*. I am a lover and devotee of Tulsidas. I adore the great spirit that gave to an aching world the all-healing *mantra* of Ramanama. But I am here today, not to present Tulsidas to you, but to ask you to take up the study of the *Gita*, not in a carping or critical spirit, but in a devout and reverent spirit. Thus approached, She will grant your every wish. It is no joke, I admit, remembering by heart all the eighteen chapters but it is worth while to make the attempt. Once you have tasted of its sweet nectar, your attachment to it will grow from day to day. The recitation of the *Gita* verses will support you in your trials and console you in your distress, even in the darkness of solitary confinement. And, if with these verses on your lips you receive the final summons and deliver up your spirit, you will attain *Brahmanirvana*—the Final Liberation. What that blessed state is, I leave it for your learned Acharyas to explain to you.

Harijan Sevak, 10-8-1934; also *Harijan*, 24-8-1934

291. SPEECH AT HARIJANS' MEETING, BENARES[2]

August 1, 1934

In the course of his address to them, Gandhiji said that the Harijan movement was fraught with immense possibilities and held within it the seeds of reconciliation, not only between the various communities in India, but also the white and the coloured races of the world.

The Municipality and the citizens of Benares should be ashamed of the fact, he said, that Harijan quarters were situated just near public latrines and that Harijans had to live in a place unfit even for cattle. It was up to the Municipality to construct decent houses for them in good and pleasant surroundings.

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 47 and 48

[2] *The Leader* had reported that the meeting was held at Central Hindu School

Harijans must fulfil their part of the programme by giving up beef, carrion, liquor, gambling and the idea of superiority and inferiority even among themselves.[1]

Mahatma Gandhi reiterated his view that anti-untouchability was not against the Shastras. If anyone could convince him that this movement was against the Shastras he would be the first person to give it up

Harijan, 17-8-1934; also *The Leader*, 2-8-1934

292. *LETTER TO NARENDRA DEVA*

BENARES,
August 2, 1934

DEAR NARENDRA DEVA,

I was thankful for the two hearty meetings[2] with the socialist friends during the all too few days I have been with you and enjoyed your hospitality.

I promised to study your draft programme and let you have my criticism on it. I cannot say I have studied it as carefully as I would have liked to. The following therefore is meant as a cursory criticism by no means exhaustive.

I think that it is wrong to call the party 'Congress Socialist Party' unless you apply for permission to make it part of the Congress organization. But it would be quite proper to call it 'All-India Socialist Party of Congressmen'. I am sure you realize the significance of the distinction.

I miss in your draft constitution acceptance of the Congress objective of attainment of *purna* swaraj by legitimate and peaceful means.

If it is an intentional omission I can understand it. For your object seems to be far different from that of the Congress. You perhaps claim that it is far ahead of the object of the Congress. Even so you cannot then call yourself a Congress party.

The object of the Congress is to form an independent State. What that State will be we can but dimly guess. Some of its features we have already determined. Experience teaches us daily new things to add. But your enunciation of the socialist object frightens me. The implications of all the three principles are too vast for my comprehension. They make an intoxicating programme. I fear all intoxicants.

[1] What follows is reproduced from *The Leader*.
[2] *Vide* pp. 253-4.

I now take by way of illustration what appear to me to be objectionable items in your programme. Items 7 and 8 are contrary to the present policy of the Congress. Though I have all my life identified myself with the masses and renounced possession of private property, I do not contemplate the elimination of the princes and the landlords nor do I contemplate redistribution of land to peasants. I aim at reformation of the princes and the landlords. It is possible, without a violent redistribution of land, to secure for tenants rights which virtually amount to ownership. I like item 11, which 7 and 8 and some others seem to me to contradict. To everyone "according to his needs" should be, in my opinion, a perfect formula if you can find place for "just" before "needs". That alone sums up all you can wish for for the most helpless and forlorn among the millions of our . . .[1]. Your fifth method, as I conceive it, is a negation of non-violence. I fail to find any justification for refusal to enter at any stage into negotiations on the constitutional issue with the British Government. The Congress did not adopt that policy even in the heyday of non-co-operation. I am sure this is a hasty interpolation.

Your "general strikes of workers and peasants" without any qualification is too dangerous for a sober, non-violent programme.

Your immediate demands are attractive with the exception of a few items. But I find nothing in your methods to show that you have any hope of immediate attainment.

I draw your attention to glaring omissions :

Removal of untouchability.

Communal unity.

Khaddar as symbol of identity with the masses and immediate occupation till a better is found for the millions who are unemployed for six or four months in the year.

Total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks.

I plead for a drastic revision of the whole constitution. We are both labouring under a heavy handicap in that Jawaharlal, who has given us the *mantra* of socialism, is not in our midst, and I consider him to be the natural wearer of the Congress crown of thorns when I and other elderly men and women have been permitted to take well-deserved rest. I feel sure that if he was in our midst, he would have hastened slowly. I suggest your presenting the country with practical socialism in keeping with Indian conditions instead of scientific socialism as your programme has been called. I am glad that the programme you have given me is but

[1] The source is illegible here.

draft though prepared by an influential committee appointed for the purpose. It would be wise, if when you settle your programme finally, you will associate with you men who have socialist leanings and have experience of actual conditions.

Yours sincerely,

From a facsimile: *Mahatma*, Vol III, between pp 344 and 345

293. LETTER TO GOVINDDAS

BENARES,
[August][1] *2, 1934*

BHAI GOVINDDASJI,

I have gone through your letter. My article or statement did not at all imply that Congress Committees should not or cannot be formed in the Indian States. The Committees already existing such as the Baghelkhand District Congress Committee about which you wrote to me should certainly continue to exist. It will, of course, be a matter of extreme regret if such committees are disallowed in any State.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Hindi]

Madhya Pradesh aur Gandhiji, p. 103

294. LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

BENARES,
August 2, 1934

There are grave objections to organizing things in accordance with your demand. The Congress would, in that case, be charged with complete nullification of its resolution and this it cannot afford. First, only the Parliamentary Board can properly deliberate over this because that alone is in possession of correct information regarding the number and the names of candidates to be put up and their respective constituencies. But the Parliamentary Board itself will find it well-nigh impossible to accept the suggested

[1] The source has "2-3-1934", but Gandhiji was in Benares in August 1934

arrangement. It has already put up candidates at many places and the work too has been started. To withdraw the Congress candidates and put up your candidates instead would have, in view of the Bombay Resolution[1], an extremely adverse effect. It is also very difficult to judge whether candidates whom you want to be put up on your behalf can be found among tried Congressmen in sufficiently large number. What we suggested was that you yourself, Shri Aney and only a few other important persons whose participation you consider most essential should come. They should be confirmed Congressmen and willing to co-operate fully with the members of the Parliamentary Board in all other respects except the Communal Award. I feel this would be the proper course and I do not expect good results from any other. My appeal to you even now is to accept this scheme and not to involve yourself in the botheration of forming a new group. It would add to the prestige of both sides if you avoid any contest with the Congress candidates. You have left the Parliamentary Board regarding it as your dharma. If we all work placing this dharma before us we shall all benefit and achieve our objectives. Competition is bound to be very harmful. I am confident that your opposition by itself would suffice as an expression of disapproval of Communal Award. I hope you will respond to my humble appeal.

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

295. *SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BENARES*[2]

[*August 2, 1934*][3]

It is a tragedy that religion for us means today nothing more than restriction on food and drink, nothing more than adherence to a sense of superiority and inferiority. Let me tell you that there cannot be grosser ignorance than this. Birth and observance of forms cannot determine one's superiority or inferiority. Character is the only determining factor. God did not create men with the badge of superiority or inferiority, and no scripture which labels

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

[2] This appeared under the title "Plain Talk to Women". The meeting was held in Harish Chandra School.

[3] From Valji G. Desai's "Weekly Letter" in *Harijan*, 17-8-1934

a human being as inferior or untouchable because of his or her birth can command our allegience; it is a denial of God and Truth which is God. God, who is the embodiment of Truth and Right and Justice, can never have sanctioned a religion or practice which regards a fifth of our vast population as untouchables. I want you, therefore, to rid yourselves of this monstrous notion. Untouchability attaching to unclean work is there, must be there. It applies to every one of us, but the moment we have washed ourselves clean of dirt or filth, we cease to be untouchables. But no work or conduct can render a man or woman untouchable for all time. Sinners we are all to a greater or less extent, and every one of our spiritual books—*Gita*, *Bhagavata*, and Tulsi *Ramayana*—declares in no uncertain terms that whoever seeks refuge in Him, whoever takes His name, shall be free from sin. That covenant is for all mankind.

There is another simple test that I want you to apply to this question. Every species, human and sub-human, has some distinguishing mark, so that you can tell a man from a beast, or a dog from a cow and so on. Have the so-called untouchables any distinguishing mark declaring them to be untouchables? They are as much human as every one of us, and we do not regard even sub-human beings as bearing the mark of untouchability. Why and whence, then, this monstrous injustice? It is not religion, but the grossest species of irreligion. I want you to cast off that sin, if you still happen to have it in you.

The only way in which we can expiate this sin of centuries is to befriend the Harijans by going to their quarters, by hugging their children as you do your own, by interesting yourselves in their welfare, by finding out whether they get enough to eat, whether they get pure water to drink, whether they have the fresh light and air that you enjoy as of right. The other way is for each of you to start the spinning sacrifice and to pledge yourselves to wear khadi, which supports millions of these submerged human beings. The spinning sacrifice will help you in some slight measure to identify yourselves with them, and every yard of khadi you wear will mean some coppers going into the pockets of the Harijans and the poor. The last thing is to contribute your mite to the Harijan Fund, which has no other end but the amelioration of the lot of the Harijans.

Harijan, 31-8-1934

296. *THE ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY BILL*[1]

August 3, 1934

This interpretation of the Bill is not sustained by lawyers. Harijans will be shut out of temples effectively where *savarna* Hindus are against their entry, though not on the ground of untouchability. If there is any doubt about it, the Bill can be amended; but I hold that in principle it is absolutely necessary, more so than the Temple-entry Bill.

Harijan, 3-8-1934

297. *LETTER TO J. C. GUPTA*

PATNA,
August 3, 1934

DEAR MR. GUPTA,

Thanks for your letter. I cannot help feeling that your resignation is a mistake. You were at liberty, although a member of Parliamentary Board, to agitate against separate electorates and for any agreed solution that you thought fit. And as a member perhaps you would have been more effective. In any case you will earn universal thanks if you can procure even an agreed solution for Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] This appeared as reply to a letter to the editor from Basant Kumar Chatterjee, which read: "Gandhiji has often declared that he is not in favour of temple-entry by the Harijans, unless the majority of Hindus of the upper castes are in favour of the innovation. If, however, the Anti-untouchability Bill is passed, it will secure temple-entry to Harijans, even though the majority of Hindus of the higher castes are against such temple-entry. Will Gandhiji kindly state whether he is against the Anti-untouchability Bill?"

298. *LETTER TO SURENDRANATH CHATTERJI*

PATNA,
August 3, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 18th ultimo. The question you raised baffles a decisive answer. The vote of a majority cannot bind a minority, in religious matters, but that must surely mean that the minority secedes from the majority. As to legislation, it is necessary when law prevents the growth of religion. Legislation was the rule of the day during the pure Hindu period.

SURENDRANATH CHATTERJI
65 LALIT GHAT, BENARES

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

299. *LETTER TO MULKRAJ*

PATNA,
August 3, 1934

DEAR LALA MULKRAJ,

I have your wire to which I sent a reply yesterday. Your budget of expenses was signed by Panditji, some days back, but pressure of work prevented my sending it to you.

Panditji has promised to send you the cheque at once on hearing from you. If there is any delay you will please write to me. Meanwhile, I would like a copy of the Congress Resolution, trust-deed, and deed appointing the Committee of manager[s].

Panditji desires that the work should be started forthwith and that a report of the progress with expenses should be sent from month to month.

I leave for Wardha tomorrow morning.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA MULKRAJ
JALLIANWALA BAGH COMMITTEE
AMRITSAR, PUNJAB

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

300. *LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY*

PATNA,
August 3, 1934

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I have your letter. I have given to Mantreswar public answers to your questions. I have come to no agreement with Malaviyaji and I have no authority either, but I have suggested[1] that Malaviyaji should be satisfied if two or three of his nominees, being all Congressmen, are left uncontested. He won't be satisfied with less than 22 seats. I have said that would be impossible. I myself could not agree to any such proposal. I fancy that we could not object to expression of dissent on the part of the members of general committees, but we could and should resist such action on the part of members of Working Committee, or such committees. These latter are the executives pledged to carry out the programme of provincial majorities.

Though I am somewhat broken up since you left us, I share your confidence that I shall pull through the fast. I have no objection to the Parliamentary Board meeting, but Sardar would insist on protecting me from it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

301. *LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

August 3, 1934

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. What you say is correct. Follow Narandasbhai's advice. Sushilabehn also is there now. You may consult her too. Now think over my argument. Do you want a degree or knowledge? Do you want education which brings you knowledge or to work for some sort of degree? Do you know that a degree does not serve the purpose of knowledge[2]? . . .

From Gujarati: C.W. 9873

[1] *Vide* pp 276-7.

[2] The rest of the letter is illegible in the source

302. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHARMA

August 3, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. There is no longer any necessity, I suppose, of answering all your letters. But you may send me those you want to be dealt with.[1]

I do not see any impropriety in accepting from one's brothers the financial help they can offer without hesitation. So they may give what help they can.

It is not right that you should feel yourself exiled there. This attitude, if not corrected, is bound to have a bad effect on Ramdas.[2]

Why do you think we have all hampered your work? For myself, I have endeavoured to give you as much encouragement as I could. You must tell me if I have unwittingly done something to the contrary.

How is it that Devi[3] is suffering from typhoid, and, if he is, don't you have any treatment for it? You may treat the children as you think best, I have no wish to interfere unduly.

Blessings to all from
BAPU

[PS.]

Shirshasana or *ardha-sarvangasana* are effective in case of involuntary emission, so also *siddhasana* and *pranayama*.

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48*, between pp. 82 and 83

[1] Hiralal Sharma used to send daily reports to Gandhiji who would return them with his suggestions On this occasion due to indisposition Gandhiji had returned all the reports without comments

[2] Ramdas was under the addressee's treatment at Khurja

[3] Deviprasad, addressee's son

303. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

August 3, 1934

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter. I am unable to draw any conclusions till Damodardas sends a reply to your letter. I must state this much that whatever I say must be regarded only as a suggestion. It should be followed only if acceptable both to the mind and the heart, not otherwise. This being my attitude you are certainly at liberty to follow your own inclination. I am awaiting Damodardas's letter in order to find out if I have to alter my opinion in any way so that I may inform you.

You must be keeping well. It is good that you have reached a compromise at Delhi but nothing should be done at the cost of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2416

304. SPEECH AT BIHAR CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE MEETING, PATNA[1]

August 3, 1934

It is in the fitness of things that we are having a resolution recording confidence and not expressing any elaborate appreciation. There were two reasons, one being that the report is not yet in the hands of the public and, secondly, the general committee in eulogizing the work of its Managing Committee would be eulogizing itself. But the resolution is necessary in order to tell the public that the Managing Committee retains their confidence and that the general committee wants it to go ahead with its work. It is worth noting that the Committee has expended just little less than half

[1] The source had reported that the first general meeting of the Earthquake Relief Committee, after its reconstitution, was held in Wheeler Senate Hall. Rajendra Prasad presided. Gandhiji spoke after moving the following resolution: "The general meeting of the Bihar Central Relief Committee, having received the report of the Managing Committee regarding work done up to the 30th June, records its confidence in the Managing Committee"

of the funds at its disposal; not that it could not spend it all, but it knew its limitations. Thus it might have attempted to clear the sand-covered areas and sunk the whole of the funds in sand. I am in a position to move this resolution because though I have not been able to go through the report, I have been in constant touch with the actual work of the Committee.

There is a complaint that the Committee has not been mindful of the interests of the middle classes inasmuch as it has spent something like twenty-two thousand rupees for helping the middle classes. The complaint is hardly just because the total amount allotted is Rs. 5 lakhs and I am here to give the assurance that the balance will be spent for the middle classes. The critics must remember that those responsible for distribution of relief themselves belong to the middle classes and could not be accused of neglecting them. Besides, Government has distributed Rs. 22 lakhs for their relief, the Government being in a better position to ascertain the condition of these classes. The Bihar Central Relief Committee had naturally to concentrate its attention to the relief of the poorer classes inasmuch as it knows their condition and their grievances better than any other agency. It was well that there was a natural division of functions between the official agency and our agency. There was also another reason why relief to the middle classes could be deferred for a while, for they had much more staying power than the poor. I can assure you that not only the balance of Rs. 4,80,000 would be expended for the help of the middle classes, but that even more will be voted if it is needed and is available. I would ask everyone, who could afford, to go in for a copy of the report and study it. Every little contribution has been acknowledged. I would invite everyone to study the report critically and pass on his criticism to the Committee.

I am thankful to the railway companies and the Tata Company for the concessions and the help they have extended to the Committee but I associate myself with Babu Rajendra Prasad that they should continue these concessions unless they have strong reasons not to do so.

I am thankful that we had a band of volunteers and workers to help us in the work. Volunteer work is done ever so much efficiently and honestly than paid work. I hope and pray that the present calamity will have taught us the lessons of resourcefulness and self-help so that in case of future emergencies we may not be found wanting.

I am sorry that we are not ready with the full audited accounts today. This is a thing that public organizations can ill-

afford to neglect and we should always be ready to account for our receipts from minute to minute and from day to day. No care in this matter would be too great.

In conclusion, I would ask you to note that the committee is not making a further appeal for funds mainly at my instance. It is not that we don't want more money. The sum of Rs. 83 lakhs received for the Viceroy's Fund and by the Bihar Central Relief Committee is hardly enough for our needs but we cannot appeal for more so long as we have not disbursed all the funds at our disposal. Let the public, however, remember that we may have to make an appeal in future and let them be prepared to pay as generously as they have done especially when they know that all the monies are well spent and every pie is accounted for.

The Searchlight, 5-8-1934

305. *INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS*[1]

PATNA,
August 3, 1934

INTERVIEWER: Are you now in a position to say what your programme will be in the very near future?

GANDHIJI: So far as I am aware this month will be devoted to fasting and convalescence. Thereafter what is in store for me in September I have no notion. But I can say this much. I am in no hurry to find myself in a prison. On the contrary, I shall try to avoid it to the best of my ability. If it becomes possible for me to avoid imprisonment for any length of time, I hope to be able to devote it undoubtedly to the continuation of the Harijan work and the rest of the constructive programme of the Working Committee, for I swear by that programme, and I am positive that if we are to mount to freedom through really non-violent means, the workers will have to qualify themselves for such constructive work and devote themselves whole-heartedly to it.

Though I am mainly responsible for the coming into being of the Congress Parliamentary Board, I have always insisted that it is the least part of the national programme. It will be useless, in terms of swaraj, without the backing of the constructive programme, not one on mere paper but in solid substantial India-wide work. If God enables me to do so I hope to be able to

[1] Accorded jointly to *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*

show in its fulness the marvellous potency of the Working Committee's resolution[1] on swadeshi, passed at Benares.

But what about the split between Pandit Malaviya and Mr Aney on the one hand and the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board on the other?

You may call it a split if you like. In spite of Herculean efforts on either side to prevent the parting we saw that there were fundamental differences which were not to be overcome and we have parted as friends and hope to remain as such although we might be fighting.

Indeed I am not without hope that the fight could be avoided. How it will be, I do not know. How it can be, I do know. I have submitted my proposal[2] to Pandit Malaviya. If it comes to anything it will have to go to the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board. I have no power whatsoever to come to any agreement.

But rumour has it that you and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel have agreed to divide half the available seats with Panditji and those who represent his point of view

I can give you a summary contradiction of that rumour. Indeed, any such division will be a betrayal of trust. After all, the Working Committee's resolution enunciates a very big principle. If the members of the Working Committee had no confidence in the correctness of their position they would have been wrong to lose the co-operation of such men as Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney. The Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board have, therefore, to work out the comprehensive resolution on the White Paper and the Communal Award to its full extent and know, as also demonstrate, the efficacy of all its parts. That surely cannot be done by a surrender of half the available seats to the representatives of the view for which Pandit Malaviyaji stands. I would, therefore, urge the public to discount all rumours.

Pandit Malaviya is a seasoned servant of the nation. He is one amongst the very few of the oldest of Congressmen with an unbroken record of brilliant service and sacrifice. I have no manner of doubt that he will do nothing to undermine the Congress influence whether they put up a fight or it becomes possible, as I hope it will be, to come to an honourable understanding. But let me not anticipate.

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

[2] *Vide* pp. 276-7.

We have read the Working Committee's resolution[1] on discipline. There are Congressmen whose views coincide with those of Pandit Malaviya In such cases, where they are members of Congress Committees, should they retire, as Mr. Aney has done?

I personally do not think so. Disciplinary action in such matters can only extend to bodies corresponding to the Central Working Committee. Thus, the Provincial Congress Committees have members who may represent Malaviyaji's point of view and advocate it in the Press or on the platform without being considered guilty of indiscipline, even as members of the All-India Congress Committee expressing views opposed to those held by the Working Committee will not be. But every Provincial Congress Committee has or should have its own Executive Committee corresponding to the Central Working Committee. That is the real Executive which has to carry out loyally and without murmur the whole of the Congress programme. And if any of the members has no faith in the programme he should retire from the Executive. But so long as he is in it, he may not criticize the programme either in the Press or on the platform. This is the view I have always held. Any other attitude will break to pieces any organization.

Is it likely that you will devote any time now or in the near future to a special effort at tackling the terrorist problem? What special methods do you contemplate employing to bring revolutionary young men under control?

Indeed I am a determined opponent of the cult of violence. Not a day passes when I do not do or think something about this question which is one of life and death to me. But I would like to do ever so much more than I am able to at present. For that, however, I need help from outside, both Indian and English, official and non-official. The cult of violence is not going to die easily. I entertain no extravagant dreams about the establishment of the kingdom of non-violence on the earth. If I get the atmosphere for the work that I need, I would love to bury myself for some time in Bengal and see what possibility there is for me to battle with violence. But I have patience. God will open the way for me, if he wants me to work more actively than I am doing in that direction.[2]

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.

[2] According to the source, Gandhiji was then "asked to give his impressions about the Harijan tour".

It is a matter of great thankfulness for me that the tour was finished without interruption and according to the programme that was settled from time to time. The impression left on my mind is that untouchability is on its last legs. Millions who attended the meetings were not all utterly ignorant of all I had to say to them. They were certainly not indifferent. The intensive propaganda carried on by sanatanists had left no room for ignorance or indifference. Nothing was left undone to prejudice the mass mind against the movement. The grossest falsehoods were broadcast. It would be wrong, therefore, to say that the attendance of multitudes at the meetings was purely a personal compliment to me and had no reference to my message. I am quite sure that the message has appealed to the reason of the masses. I am also fully aware that all of them are not yet ready to translate their beliefs into practice. But I consider it a tremendous gain that the masses have begun to believe in the truth of the message. It makes the task of the workers easier than before. To show how heartily the masses have taken part in the movement, I should mention that the eight lakhs of rupees collected during the past nine months represent contributions from the poorest. It has occupied hours, from day to day, of our accountants to count coppers and small coins, whether collected at public meetings or at railway stations. People are not known to contribute to the cause which they have utterly disliked. The third thing I should say about the tour is that a demonstrable awakening, on a large scale, has taken place among the Harijans. Many of them have made unsolicited statements before me that the position had considerably advanced and that they had confidence that untouchability would be a thing of the past in the near future. I share their confidence. If the movement goes on as it is doing at present —and I have no doubt that it will go on—it must cause daily increasing awakening among Harijans and when they fully realize how they can substantially help themselves, and how in many cases the law is with them, whether *savarna* Hindus like it or not, Harijans would make good their position. I would, of course, hope that *savarna* Hindus will realize the wickedness of untouchability as it is practised today and get rid of it themselves rather than that they should be compelled to do so by circumstances beyond their control. Whatever happens, untouchability cannot survive for many years.

Much mischievous agitation has been led on this question in spite of my having cleared the position at the beginning stage of the Harijan tour. No temple was opened where there was not

a virtual consensus of opinion, in favour of opening, on the part of those who were in the habit of visiting those temples. Nobody has ever suggested that when practically the whole congregation is in favour of such opening, the temple should not be opened. As to the Temple-entry Bill, I hold that it is a legal necessity. But I have declared times without number that I would be no party to forcing the Bill through the Assembly by the vote of a mixed majority. It is, therefore, that Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar is ascertaining independently Hindu sentiment in the legislature and if Hindu sentiment is against the Bill, so far as I am concerned, it will be withdrawn. With all these reservations, therefore, all agitation against the measures ought to die, unless I commit a breach of faith. How I wish that the undivided attention of all Hindus was concentrated on the ameliorative measures that have been adopted by the Harijan Sevak Sangh!

Let me finally add that no money has been spent during these nine months in connection with the temple-entry agitation or the Bill. No temple has been built out of Harijan purses.

The Hindu, 3-8-1934

306. TELEGRAM TO HIRALAL SHARMA

MUGHALSARAI,
August 4, 1934

DR. SHARMA
KHURJA

NO TEMPERATURE. BOTH[1] WELL. HOPE RAMDAS STRONG.

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48,* facing p. 83

307. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

August 4, 1934

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I thought I would write a few lines before the fast which commences in two days' time. We are in a train just now. We shall reach Wardha tomorrow morning. Devdas had come to Kashi. He parted from us at Allahabad.

[1] Gandhiji and Kasturba, who had fallen ill at Banaras

This time it may be said that I have already begun the fast; but how can I claim merit for it? Not being well during the last two days I have not taken milk for four days. For two days I have been eating only fruit, and that too in small quantity. Even so, my strength and weight have remained satisfactory. That means that the body has lost nothing yet except the toxins. There is, therefore, no cause at all for worry. By the time you get this letter, everything will have been over. Hence it even seems unnecessary to write all this. But I thought you should know my condition as it is today.

Sushila seems to be giving you excellent help. If she had a stronger body, she could have done much more. But what she is able to do is quite satisfactory. You must have received the name selected for Arun and sent to you.

Ramdas's health causes anxiety. He has become very much emaciated. If you can get passes for him and Dr. Sharma, I would send them over there. But don't ask for them as a special favour. If they can be obtained in the natural course, it is all right.

With me are Ba, Mahadev, Prabhavati, Valjibhai, Kakasaheb, Thakkar Bapa and Prithuraj. The others have gone to Wardha in advance.

I hope Manilal has been able to make a good collection.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N 4824. Also C.W 1236 Courtesy: Sushila Gandhi

308. *TALK ON RAMANAMA*[1]

August 4, 1934[2]

Ramanama to me is all-sufficing. There are as many names of God as His manifestations, but sages have, as a result of their life-long penance, devised names to be uttered by the devotees, in order to be able to commune with the Nameless. There are other *mantras* than Ramanama, but for me that is supreme. It has become part of my life. When [I was] a child, my nurse taught me to repeat Ramanama whenever I felt afraid or miserable and it

[1&2] This is extracted from "The Purification Week" by Mahadev Desai, who had explained that "two days before the fast" Gandhiji was talking to a friend who was travelling with him.

has been second nature with me with growing knowledge and advancing years. I may even say that the word is in my heart, if not actually on my lips, all the twenty-four hours. It has been my saviour and I am ever stayed on it. In the spiritual literature of the world, the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas takes a foremost place. It has charms that I miss in the *Mahabharata* and even in Valmiki's *Ramayana*.

Harijan, 17-8-1934

309. INTERVIEW AT JABALPUR[1]

August 4, 1934

Mahatma Gandhi, in spite of weakness, appeared cheerful. Interviewed, he said that at present he was quite well and his temperature was normal. He also stated that he would commence his seven days' fast from August 7. He also inquired about the local political atmosphere and party quarrels

Replying, Seth Govind Das said that though the atmosphere is tense with party feelings, efforts are being made to bring about a satisfactory compromise between the rival groups of the workers, adding that in the event of a satisfactory compromise not being arrived at, he along with his friends had decided to retire from political arena and patiently wait for the time when his service will be required by the motherland.

Mahatma Gandhi expressed approval of Seth Govind Das's views and said that in order to avoid conflict and friction, he had always advised loyal Congressmen to retire from the field of party-feeling and to devote their energies in other constructive and solid programme.

Mahatma Gandhi also appealed to the public to contribute towards the Harijan Fund and collections were made on the spot.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-8-1934

310. MESSAGE ON BIRTHDAY[2]

August 5, 1934

I cannot understand how anyone who has even a drop of pity for the semi-starved millions living in seven lakh villages, can oppose spinning or khadi.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 7752

[1] Gandhiji was on his way to Wardha.

[2] *The Bombay Chronicle*, 15-8-1934, had reported this under the title, "Mahatma's Birthday". Presumably, the message was given in connection with Gandhi Jayanti Celebration from September 15 to October 7, 1934.

311. OF "HARIJAN"

[*August 6, 1934*][1]

With the completion of the tour and the year of probation during which I was to devote myself wholly to the Harijan cause and take no active part in politics, many have begun to speculate about my immediate future activity. Happily, the fast is to predetermine my course during it and for some time after. But, even apart from the fast, I should like to say that, whilst it is open to me to speak and write on politics, I propose to keep myself aloof from them as much as possible. The joy of the past self-restraint is too fresh to fade from the memory and to induce volubility of political speech. My partiality for Harijan and kindered causes persists and will persist, I hope, to the end of my life.

And what is true of my general attitude is truer still of *Harijan*. No doubt I shall have to do more political work. I may be compelled to resort to civil resistance. But the *Harijan* will remain what it has been ever since its inception. It will rigorously eschew all politics. But now that I expect to have some time for them, it will, I hope, deal with constructive causes, more especially those that have direct connection with Harijans. It will, therefore, consistently with the Harijan interest and as time permits and occasion arises, deal with communal unity, khadi and all the processes leading to khadi, other branches of swadeshi, temperance and the constructive side of prohibition and the condition of the so-called criminal or aboriginal tribes, who live on the border-line of untouchability.

Harijan, 10-8-1934

[1] In *Harijan*, 17-8-1934, giving an account of Gandhiji's day-to-day activities in "The Purification Week", Mahadev Desai had explained under this date that "though thoroughly exhausted [Gandhiji] wrote a few letters and the two articles for the last [week's] *Harijan*". The "two articles" referred to are this and the following.

312. SWADESHI

[*August 6, 1934*][1]

Early in the year, if not immediately after my convalescence last year, I was called upon by those who were interested in swadeshi to frame a definition so as to answer the many difficulties that faced them. I had to bear in mind the various shades of swadeshi in textiles. I put together the definitions that were suggested. I had correspondence with Shri Shivarao and Shri Jalbhai Naoroji as well as others. I failed to frame a definition that would suit all cases and found that it was impossible to frame an exhaustive definition. As I was travelling far and wide, I had the opportunity of observing things and of seeing how swadeshi organizations were functioning. I came to the conclusion that the existing practice was an unconscious fraud upon the public and that many workers of ability were wasting their energy in a vain effort. They were practising self-deception. This strong language, whilst it correctly describes my mental attitude, is not intended to cast any reflection whatsoever upon the workers in swadeshi organizations. They were doing their best without realizing that they were moving in a vicious circle and labouring under self-deception.

Let me explain what I mean. We were holding exhibitions of things that were in no need of special help or of advertisement for their sale. In their case, our interposition can either stimulate the prices of their wares or set up unhealthy rivalries between flourishing but competing firms.

We may profess to gratuitously help textile, sugar and rice mills and, respectively, kill the village spinning-wheel, the handloom and their product, khadi, the village cane-crusher and its product, the vitamin-laden and nourishing *gur* or molasses, and the hand-pounder and its product, unpolished rice, whose pericarp, which holds the vitamins, is left intact by these pounders. Our clear duty is, therefore, to investigate the possibility of keeping in existence the village wheel, the village crusher and the village pounder, and, advertising their products, discovering their qualities, ascertaining the condition of the workers and the number displaced by the power-driven machinery and discovering the methods of improv-

[1] *Vide* the preceding item, footnote 1.

ing them, whilst retaining their village character, to enable them to stand the competition of the mills. How terribly and criminally we have neglected them! Here, there is no antagonism to the textile or the sugar or the rice mills. Their products must be preferred to the corresponding foreign products. If they were in danger of extinction from foreign competition, they should receive the needed support. But they stand in no such need. They are flourishing in spite of foreign competition. What is needed is protection of the village crafts and the workers behind them from the crushing competition of the power-driven machinery, whether it is worked in India or in foreign lands. It may be that khadi, *gur* and unpolished rice have no intrinsic quality and that they should die. But, except for khadi, not the slightest effort has been made, so far as I am aware, to know anything about the fate of the tens of thousands of villagers who were earning their livelihood through crushing cane and pounding rice. Surely, there is in this work enough for an army of patriots. The reader will say, 'but this is very difficult work'. I admit. But it is most important and equally interersting. I claim that this is true, fruitful and cent per cent swadeshi.

But I have as yet merely touched the fringe of the question. I have merely sampled three big organized industries and shown how voluntary swadeshi agencies need to concentrate their attention solely on the corresponding unorganized village industries that are dying for want of voluntary and intelligent, organized help.

There are numberless other village, and even town, crafts that need public support, if they are to live and thus maintain the thousands of poor artisans depending upon them for their daily bread. Every ounce of work in this direction tells. Every hour given to this work means the sustenance of some deserving workers.

It is my certain conviction that, if work is done on a systematic basis in this direction, the department doing it will become self-supporting, new talent will be stimulated, the educated as well as the uneducated unemployed will find honourable employment without displacing anyone and crores will be added yearly to the wealth of this country, which is getting progressively impoverished.

Here is enough profitable and entertaining work and to spare for all the swadeshi leagues put together. The recent resolution[1] of the Working Committee on 'swadeshi' means all this and much more It provides limitless work for the creative genius in the country.

Harijan, 10-8-1934

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

313. TELEGRAM TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

WARDHA,[1]
August 6, 1934

BRIJKRISHNA
KATRA KHUSHALRAI
DELHI

NOTHING WRONG WITH ME. HAVE FAITH. KEEP WELL. WORK ON.[2]

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2417

314. A LETTER

August 6, 1934

MY DEAR . . .[3],

Jamnalal and Swami Anand report that you have made different statements to different persons, that you have not fulfilled many of your promises to Swami Anand and that their strong suspicion almost amounting to belief is that you have made up the story about the girl. This seems to me to be unbelievable. And yet if you cannot give me the name of the girl, I must also reluctantly come to the conclusion that Jamnalal or Swami are fast coming to.

Your concern about the girl is surely needless. You will be surprised to learn that . . .[4] and his wife are sitting by me while I am writing this. It would be a great shock to me if I discover in you a young man in the prime of life capable of connections involving the honour of girls of tender age.

May God be your guide and help.

Love.

BAPU

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] This place-name is not reproduced in subsequent items.

[2] The addressee was anxious about Gandhiji's intended fast and had desired to join him.

[3]&[4] The names have been omitted.

315. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL A. SHODHAN

August 6, 1934

CHI. RANCHHODLAL,

I was shocked when I heard about your financial condition from Jamnalalji yesterday. I had never imagined that money deposited with you would be unsafe in any circumstances. In my view, your credit was higher than that of the Bank of India. Is that true no more? If not, why not? Why did you not even breathe a word to me about the matter? If you wish to be as a son to me, you must always tell me about things like this. In such a situation Jamnalalji would most certainly have told me.

Let me know the details in brief. Do this thing now. Don't keep back a single pie. Hand over even the house and the furniture and the jewellery to the creditors. If anything is held in Motibehn's or Rama's name, they and you should regard that as belonging to the creditors. The gifts given to relations in times of prosperity should be looked upon as deposits on behalf of creditors to be used in the hour of misfortune. Difficult times come to all. He alone will have lived well who preserves his honour even at the cost of his wife and children, as Harishchandra did. I hope that you will not—I bless you that you may not—shrink from heroism such as Harishchandra's.

Do not worry about my fast. Reassure me by giving me proof of your uprightness.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

316. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

August 6, 1934

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I had your telegram, and the letter too. A telegram has been sent in reply[1] to yours. It is regrettable that you show such impatience. How can I encourage it ? Even in such things you have to exercise self-control. What service can you render ? The

[1] *Vide* p. 295.

Ashram is full of people ready to serve. I am keeping out all those who are not here. I have stopped Mehta and Bidhan too. Now, how can I allow you? You can do there what you can. You may clean the Harijan locality and take with you whosoever wishes to join. Has the Municipality done anything? Have you not received Damodardas's reply by now? What does it mean? Tell me promptly. His remarks are such that I cannot leave matters at that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N 2418

317. STATEMENT ON FAST[1]

August 6, 1934

As I enter upon the seven days' fast from tomorrow (Tuesday), I would like to re-emphasize the necessity on the part of Harijan workers helping the cause by greater personal purification and greater concentration on the work before them. The monster of untouchability will not be killed without constant and ceaseless effort on the part of workers who have faith in the mission and who have by patient toil built up personal purity and integrity. Let everyone also realize that fasting is not for everyone and for every occasion. Fasting without faith may even lead to disastrous consequences. All such spiritual weapons are dangerous when handled by unqualified persons.

I would like to utter a word of warning to Congressmen and Congress workers. During the coming seven days I shall be filled with thoughts about them as I have been during the past month. The acrimony with which Congress elections have been fought in some places and the unclean methods adopted by Congress workers by manipulating votes and grossly abusing the rule about habitual wearing of khadi have filled me with horror and dismay. The constitution provides for truthful and non-violent methods. In some provinces, at some elections, truth and non-violence have been conspicuous by their absence. Though my fast has nothing to do with these unclean methods, how I wish Congress workers will detect my anguish in the words I have written and lighten it during the purification week by resorting to self-

[1] Extracted from "The Purification Week". According to Mahadev Desai this was written by Gandhiji "towards the evening".

introspection and resolving to make the Congress an organization in keeping with its creed, so that anyone who cares may without difficulty find it to be a living embodiment of its creed. I shall certainly be praying for its purification. Purity of this, the greatest national organization cannot but help the Harijan movement, since the Congress is also pledged to the removal of the curse.

Finally, I ask all friends, whether in India or outside, no matter to what faith or race they may belong, to pray that God may bless the forthcoming little penance.

Harijan, 17-8-1934

318. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

August 7, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

At 6 a.m. I entered upon the fast. It is now 7 a.m. I do hope that you would not be disturbed during the week. There is no cause for uneasiness. But what is the use of my saying all this? Ere this reaches, the fast would have been twice over.

You are quite right in repeating your warning. (At this stage I felt too sleepy to write, so I slept. It is now 7.30 a.m.) So long as you feel like giving the warning, you should go on doing it, in ever so emphatic terms. Some day it may have its full effect. Partial effect there is even now. It keeps me on my guard. If . . .[1] copied me, he had surely a corrupt mind. For there is no warrant for thinking that any other person was similarly affected unless of course I have been kept in the dark or unless you suggest that every fall in the Ashram was due to my practice. So far as . . .[2] is concerned, Jamnalalji and Swami Anand with whom . . .[3] had long talks have almost come to the conclusion that . . .[4] has concocted the whole story for the purpose of blackmail. They are both finishing the chain. But this is all by the way. You should not disturb yourself over this. I don't. I take the necessary steps and forget all about it. You have given a whole paragraph to the matter. Hence this reply.

Many changes are taking place in my mind just now. The corruption in the Congress is preying on me as it has never before done. I am conferring with friends as to the advisability of leaving the Congress and pursuing its ideals outside it.[5] It is good

[1,2,3&4] The name has been omitted.

[5] Which he ultimately did on September 17, 1934; *vide* Vol. LXI .

that the corruption agitates me. I shall take no hasty step but there it is. And I feel that the girls' institution here should be closed unless I am prepared to sit down in Wardha or Vinoba takes the sole responsibility of its management. He will think over it during the fast. These are the two things that are uppermost in my mind.

The rest you will have from Mahadev or Pyarelal both of whom and Bal, Bapa, Devraj and Prithuraj are here. I insisted upon Jamnalalji going to Bombay for his ear trouble. Ba, Prabhavati and Om are of course here. And Vasumati and Amtul Salaam have insisted on coming here. The latter is somewhat better but by no means overwell.

Your work there is certainly voluminous. You are putting forth extraordinary energy. What more can you do? Take your time. Do not get ill.

Kamlani's[1] mental derangement is sad news. I hope you had time to be able to go to him. Your very presence may do him good.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I have not been able to write to Maxwell. Sorry.

From the original: C W. 6294. Courtesy Mirabehn. Also G.N 9760

319. *LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON*

Unrevised *August 7, 1934*

DEAR AGATHA,

Your love-letters continue to pour in on me. And as you have been hearing regularly from someone or other of the (now) many companions, I do not write to you. This is to tell you I entered upon the little fast at 6 a.m. today and to ask you not to worry. But where is the meaning in asking you not to worry when I know that this letter would reach you only after the fast will have become a faint memory?

That the fast is a fitting finish to the Harijan tour I have no doubt. It is a great spiritual instrument. That Protestantism has virtually discarded it is a distinct loss to it and the world seeing what a power it is today in the world. However, I must not argue about it. If it is a desideratum of the soul, there are too

[1] A. S. Kamlani, Secretary, Friends of India League, London

many seekers after truth among Protestants not to feel the want of it sooner or later.

During this month I shall be resting in Wardha and collecting my thoughts. What is in store for me in September I do not know. But this I do know. To go to the Frontier Province or to Bengal or to both alternately is a craving of the soul. Where to go first I do not know. If the so-called Red Shirts are violent, I must know them and disown them. If they are not, I must defend them against the slur cast on them. Those who are not given to lying and are well able to judge have testified to their non-violence. These are Khurshed Naoroji, a much-travelled woman of exquisite purity and honesty, Elwin whom you know and Devdas whom too you know are the three eye-witnesses. And yet the British official testimony is equally emphatic the other way. It cannot be all manufacture. The mystery can only be solved if I am permitted to go and live in their midst. This is a fundamental necessity—greater perhaps than that of going to Bengal from one point of view. I go to the Frontier to find the truth and act accordingly. I go to Bengal not to find any truth but to try to wean terrorists from terrorism. Detention of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Jawaharlal is a great disturbing factor and a wholly unnecessary irritant. But this detention, while it worries me, does not just now appeal to me as a cause of war. Now you have an analysis of my mind as it is likely to be at the end of the month. What occupies my mind at present is how to achieve the purity of the Congress and to rid the Ashram here of subtle untruth and breaches of *brahmacharya*. Perhaps you are not sufficiently interested in such things. Here I was interrupted by an army of doctors. They have overhauled the system and say I must not do any writing even this first day of the fast. So goodbye and much love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1478

320. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, WARDHA[1]

August 7, 1934

I can say from experience that fasting is an essential part of Ashram life. The assault on Lalnath was certainly the occasion of the fast, but as I have said in my public statement[2], this fast is intended for the purification of many. If I were to have regard to all the incidents and happenings that have prompted me to take such a step, I should have to go on a much longer fast. But I am painfully aware of my own physical and spiritual limitations and hence could not think of a longer fast.

Our Ashram was certainly in my mind when I made the decision to fast. There are two enemies against which we must guard—untruth and impurity. Purity of the mind is essential for the observance of all the vows. If the mind is not pure, no amount of physical restraint would avail. The *Gita* teaches us that the man who restrains the organs of action, whilst he allows the mind to run after the objects of the senses, is a hypocrite.[3] We may fail to restrain the mind, but let us not be hypocrites. If we fail, let us own up, rather than be guilty of the double sin of untruth and want of restraint. For not only telling lies is untruth, but guilty silence or hiding one's state of mind from one's guardians is also untruth. Let my fast spur you on to further self-purification and self introspection.

We have also to remember that one of the objects of the Ashram is the abolition of untouchability, it is one of our eleven vows[4]. Now an effective observance of that vow is impossible without an observance of the other vows, especially of truth and non-violence. In fact, no worker in the cause of removal of untouchability—and we are all workers in the cause—is fitted for it, unless and until he is pledged to observe truth and non-violence in thought, word and deed. In a word, no service is possible without self-purification. If, therefore, we think more and more of self-

[1] This is extracted from "The Purification Week" by Mahadev Desai, who had explained: "Fast began at 6 a.m. after the morning prayers and the last feed at 5.30 At the conclusion of prayer, Gandhiji addressed a few words . . ."

[2] *Vide* pp. 297-8.

[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 6

[4] *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 398-401.

purification as a result of this fast, we should be able to bring about the proper atmosphere. I shall be constantly thinking of you this whole week and I want you to co-operate with me. I am hoping that God will pull me through this ordeal, and I know that all of you will help me with your prayers.

Harijan, 17-8-1934

321. *SILENCE-DAY NOTE*

[*August 13, 1934*]

Tell Janakibehn not to be so unreasonable. Most probably I will go there at the time of the operation[1]. I shall regain strength in three or four days. Even if I can't go, we must not take the risk of delaying the operation. I wish to send a wire[2] immediately today. God willing, we shall both be present there, but the operation need not be postponed on that account.

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 126

322. *TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

August 13, 1934

JAMNALALJI
POLYCLINIC, QUEENS ROAD, BOMBAY 8

AM QUITE FIT. LISTENED LETTER REPORTED. AM DEFINITELY OPINION OPERATION SHOULD BE PERFORMED ON DATE FIXED BY DOCTORS IRRESPECTIVE OTHER CONDITIONS. WIRE FIXED DATE.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p.126

[1] For Jamnalal Bajaj's ear trouble
[2] *Vide* the following item.

323. TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI[1]

August 14, 1934

NARANDAS GANDHI
OPPOSITE MIDDLE SCHOOL
RAJKOT

THANK GOD. BROKE FAST. AM WELL.

BAPU

From a microfilm : M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8407. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

324. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

August 14, 1934

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Though you are now under distressing circumstances, your release[2] takes a great load off my mind, as it is three-fourths medicine for Kamala. I have missed you greatly during all the momentous steps I have taken. But of these when we meet.

I am well, though the last day proved the most trying of all the days and washed me out thoroughly. But I have no doubt that I shall pick up quickly.

This is however to suggest to you that you should not make any public political pronouncement. I have felt that in cases of domestic illness or sorrow the Government has acted in a becoming manner. I do feel therefore that we ought to recognize this fact by not using the liberty thus obtained for any other purpose not inconsistent with that of the Government. I feel that this is due to them and to ourselves, especially when civil resistance is suspended. If my argument appeals to your reason, you will announce your self-restraint in a fitting manner. When Kamala is better I expect you to come here. I shall be in Wardha up to the

[1] An identical telegram (C.W. 7968) was sent to G. D. Birla, Birla Mills, Delhi, on the same day.

[2] The addressee had telegraphically informed Gandhiji: "I have been permitted to stay with Kamala. The position is not clear. Hope you are well"

end of the month, except that I might have to go to Bombay to attend the delicate operation that Jamnalalji might have to go through during the month.

I hope Mama is doing well and so Krishna. You will let me know how you have fared this time in jail.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1934. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

325. *LETTER TO HIRALAL SHARMA*

Unrevised *August 14, 1934*

CHI. SHARMA,

I am sorry for the mistake I made in addressing the letter.[1] It should not have occurred. Send me your views about Ramdas's condition.

Your sending the money to Amtussalaam was not right. No longer do you have any funds to make donations. Moreover Amtussalaam is in no such predicament as to warrant any help. I pointed out to her that she should not have taken money thus and she has understood. Friendship never implies that we pamper our mutual weaknesses. Its aim is to ennoble one another. I regard it as a subject of study for the nature-cure practitioner. The naturopath recognizes physical, mental, and spiritual ills and treats them mainly by developing inner powers. He takes the help of earth, water, ether, fire and air. It should be an impossibility for him to be instrumental in spiritual degeneration. Consider the case of Amtussalaam from this viewpoint. She has a weak heart. It is a disease. She has a weakness for squandering money yet feels reluctant in accepting funds from the family. Sending her money is contributing to her downfall, while not sending it will help her progress. So a naturopath would not send money.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48*, between pp. 86-7

[1] Gandhiji had wrongly addressed the letter 'Khurda'.

326. DISCUSSION WITH GUJARAT VIDYAPITH TEACHERS[1]

[After *August 14, 1934*][2]

The real work of the Vidyapith lies in the villages. I have been stressing this point ever since the inception of the Vidyapith, but until a couple of years ago, when it was declared an illegal organization and most of our professors and boys were imprisoned, we laboured under the impression that the work could be carried on only through a central institute situated in the capital town of Gujarat. But under the altered conditions, and now that we have some breathing time to put our heads together and to collect our thoughts, we shall do well-to hark back to the original conception and think of our future work in its terms. Each member of a live institution must be a living embodiment of the ideals of the institution, wherever he may be, and when such a state of things is brought about, it is the same thing whether the institution has a habitation and a corporate existence or not.

I would, therefore, expect every one of you who has cherished the ideals of the Vidyapith and who is pledged to serve it to go straight to the villages and start living those ideals there. Each one of you will thus be a peripatetic Vidypaith, teaching the ideals by means of his own personal example. It is quite conceivable that a host of workers, after having lived the life in the villages according to the ideals of the Vidyapith, re-establish the central institute in a village. But we are not in that position today. We have yet to gain all that experience on which alone you can build the new Vidyapith.

The centre of this village worker's life will be the spinning-wheel. I am sorry I have not been able yet to bring home to anyone the message of the spinning-wheel in all its implications. The reason is that my life itself is not a true echo of the message. But it came home to me again and again during my nine months' peregrinations in India. We have not yet sufficiently realized that

[1&2] The discussion appeared under the title "What Is Village Work" as a summary of Gandhiji's talk, with the following introductory note by Mahadev Desai: "During his convalescence after the fast, Gandhiji has been giving part of his time each day to workers coming with their doubts and difficulties. Among these were some of the professors of the Gujarat Vidyapith." Gandhiji broke his fast on August 14, 1934.

hand-spinning is a supplementary industry of universal application and scope in India. The village weaver cannot live but for the spinning-wheel. He gets his yarn no doubt from the mills, but he is doomed to destruction, if he is to remain for ever dependent on the mills. Today, the spinning-wheel has established itself in our economic life only to the extent that it is needed to minister to the clothing needs of the new class of khadi weavers that has sprung up during the past decade. But a large body like the Spinners' Association cannot justify its existence to fulfil that limited object. The idea at the back of khadi is that it is an industry supplementary to agriculture and co-extensive with it, that it is the life-breath of millions of Harijan weavers who derive their sustenance from it. The spinning-wheel cannot be said to have been established in its own proper place in our life, until we can banish idleness from our villages and make every village home a busy hive. Unemployment and idleness of millions must lead to bloody strife. Khadi is the only alternative to this and not the so-called socialism, which presupposes industrialism. The socialism that India can assimilate is the socialism of the spinning-wheel. Let the village worker, therefore, make the wheel the central point of his activities.

The worker will not be spinning regularly but will be working for his bread with the adze or the spade or the last, as the case may be. All his hours minus the eight hours of sleep and rest will be fully occupied with some work. He will have no time to waste. He will allow himself no laziness and allow others none. His life will be a constant lesson to his neighbours in ceaseless and joy-giving industry. Bodily sustenance should come from body labour, and intellectual labour is necessary for the culture of the mind. Division of labour there will necessarily be, but it will be a division into various species of body labour and not a division into intellectual labour to be confined to one class and body labour to be confined to another class. Our compulsory or voluntary idleness has to go. If it does not go, no panacea will be of any avail, and semi-starvation will remain the eternal problem that it is. He who eats two grains must produce four. Unless the law is accepted as universal, no amount of reduction in population would serve to solve the problem. If the law is accepted and observed, we have room enough to accommodate millions more to come.

The village worker will thus be a living embodiment of industry. He will master all the processes of khadi, from cotton-sowing and picking to weaving, and will devote all his thought

to perfecting them. If he treats it as a science, it won't jar on him, but he will derive fresh joy from it everyday, as he realizes more and more its great possibilities. If he will go to the village as a teacher, he will go there no less as a learner. He will soon find that he has much to learn from the simple villagers. He will enter into every detail of village life, he will discover the village handicrafts and investigate the possibilities of their growth and their improvement. He may find the villagers completely apathetic to the message of khadi, but he will, by his life of service compel interest and attention. Of course, he will not forget his limitations and will not engage in, for him, the futile task of solving the problem of agricultural indebtedness.

Sanitation and hygiene will engage a good part of his attention. His home and his surroundings will not only be a model of cleanliness, but he will help to promote sanitation in the whole village by taking the broom and the basket round.

He will not attempt to set up a village dispensary or to become the village doctor. These are traps which must be avoided. I happened during my Harijan tour to come across a village where one of our workers who should have known better had built a pretentious building in which he had housed a dispensary and was distributing free medicine to the villages around. In fact, the medicines were being taken from home to home by volunteers and the dispensary was described as boasting a register of 1,200 patients a month! I had naturally to criticize this severely. That was not the way to do village work, I told him. His duty was to inculcate lessons of hygiene and sanitation in the village folk and thus to show them the way of preventing illness, rather than attempt to cure them. I asked him to leave the palace-like building and to hire it out to the Local Board and to settle in thatched huts. All that one need stock in the way of drugs is quinine, castor oil and iodine and the like. The worker should concentrate more on helping people realize the value of personal and village cleanliness and maintaining it at all cost.

Then he will interest himself in the welfare of the village Harijans. His home will be open to them. In fact, they will turn to him naturally for help in their troubles and difficulties. If the village folk will not suffer him to have the Harijan friends in his house situated in their midst, he must take up his residence in the Harijan quarters.

A word about the knowledge of the alphabet. It has its place, but I should warn you against a misplaced emphasis on it. Do not proceed on the assumption that you cannot proceed with rural

instruction without first teaching the children or adults how to read and write. Lots of useful information on current affairs, history, geography and elementary arithmetic, can be given by word of mouth before the alphabet is touched. The eyes, the ears and the tongue come before the hand. Reading comes before writing and drawing before tracing the letters of the alphabet. If this natural method is followed, the understanding of the children will have a much better opportunity of development than when it is under check by beginning the children's training with the alphabet.

The worker's life will be in tune with the village life. He will not pose as a litterateur buried in his books, loath to listen to details of humdrum life. On the contrary, the people, whenever they see him, will find him busy with his tools—spinning-wheel, loom, adze, spade, etc.—and always responsive to their meanest inquiries. He will always insist on working for his bread. God has given to everyone the capacity of producing more than his daily needs and, if he will only use his resourcefulness, he will not be in want of an occupation suited to his capacities, however poor they may be. It is more likely than not that the people will gladly maintain him, but it is not improbable that in some places he may be given a cold shoulder. He will still plod on. It is likely that in some villages he may be boycotted for his pro-Harijan proclivities. Let him in that case approach the Harijans and look to them to provide him with food. The labourer is always worthy of his hire and, if he conscientiously serves them, let him not hesitate to accept his food from the Harijans always, provided that he gives more than he takes. In the very early stages, of course, he will draw his meagre allowance from a central fund where such is possible.

I have deliberately left out the question of the cow. The village worker will find it difficult to tackle the question and will not attempt it, except to the extent of educating the people in the theory of it. We have not yet hit upon the best way of curing dead cattle's hide and dyeing it, as also the best means of protecting the cow. In Gujarat the buffalo problem complicates the situation. We have got to make people realize that to encourage the buffalo is to allow the cow to die. But more of this some other time.

Remember that our weapons are spiritual. It is a force that works irresistibly, if imperceptibly. Its progress is geometrical rather than arithmetical. It never ceases so long as there is a propeller behind. The background of all your activities has, there-

fore, to be spiritual. Hence the necessity for the stricktest purity of conduct and character.

You will not tell me that this is an impossible programme, that you have not the qualifications for it. That you have not fulfilled it so far should be no impediment in your way. If it appeals to your reason and your heart, you must not hesitate. Do not fight shy of the experiment. The experiment will itself provide the momentum for more and more effort.

Harijan, 31-8-1934

327. "GOD BE PRAISED"

[*August 15, 1934*][1]

Happily nobody questioned the propriety of the fast just finished. On the contrary, those who have written about it have recognized the necessity of it. Its spiritual value for me has been inestimable. Why, I do not know, but it is a fact that man clings most to God when he is in distress, even as a child clings to its mother when it is in suffering. Though I was cheerful, I had my due share of physical suffering attendant upon all fasts except when required by ill-health.

I was able during the seven days to understand more fully than hitherto the implications of what I had meant when from a hundred platforms I had declared that untouchability was not to be removed without the workers showing in their lives great purity of character. Therefore, so far as the fast was directed towards myself, it has, I hope, served its purpose. That I may fail to come up to the standard I visualized during the fast is possible, nay, probable. But no fast has ever proved an insurance against human frailties. We can only mount to success through failures.

The fast was primarily and nominally intended as a penance for the hurt caused to Swami Lalnath and his friends at Ajmer at the hands of sympathizers with the movement. But in reality, it is a call to all the workers and sympathizers to be most exact and correct in approaching opponents. Utmost consideration and courtesy shown to them is the best propaganda for the movement. The fast was taken to impress upon the workers the truth that we can only win over the opponent by love, never by hate. Hate is the subtlest form of violence. We cannot be really non-violent

[1] *Vide* "Interview to the Press", pp. 315-6.

and yet have hate in us. The dullest brain cannot fail to perceive that it is impossible by violence to wean millions of caste Hindus from the evil of untouchability, which they have hitherto been taught to regard as an article of faith.

Evidence so far received shows that the fast has operated to quicken the conscience of many workers. Time alone can show the extent of its influence. It is not for me to measure the influence of the fast. It was for me humbly to perform what was a clear duty. God be praised that He permitted me safely to go through the fast. Let the reader join me in the prayer that He may give me greater purity and strength of purpose to fulfil the mission He has entrusted me with.

Harijan, 17-8-1934

328. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 15, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

This is my first letter after the fast. I am in very good health. I drank some milk today. Blood-pressure is excellent. Please, therefore, do not worry about me. Let Janakibehn stay there as long as she pleases. But it may not be necessary to keep Om there for a long time. It is good that Mahadev and Madanmohan are going there. I hope you will welcome them. I thought it necessary that they should go. They may, if they can, return immediately tomorrow. There will be no difficulty here. Keep your mind fixed on Rama as they give you chloroform. All are well here. It is God's will that you should be spared for more service and many more sacrifices still.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2937

329. TELEGRAM TO MOHANLAL SAXENA[1]

[On or before *August 16, 1934*][2]

HOPE ALL CONGRESSMEN WILL RESPECT THE CONGRESS MANDATE.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-8-1934

330. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Not revised *August 16, 1934*

CHI. MIRA,

I wrote[3] to you on Tuesday, 7th, after commencing the fast. Today is Thursday, the third day of the breaking of the fast. The last day was one of physical torture. It was well perhaps it was so. What was the penance worth, if it did not cause me any physical suffering? The phrase joy of suffering has no meaning if there is no suffering felt. I knew on Monday more fully than before the meaning of the phrase joy of suffering. I am the richer for the treasure which I would not have missed for a kingdom.

There it was. As I am writing this, I feel the strength slowly coming. I have settled down to this after having walked a few paces on the terrace with Vasumati's help. She and Amtul Salaam and Amala have been with me all the time. Prabhavati is of course there. She has slaved during these days. I cannot understand where she gets all the strength from. She seems never tired. Amala is as mad as ever. But she is better with me than elsewhere.

Don't be sorry or angry that I have not yet written to Mr. Maxwell about the prisoners. The thing has never been out of my mind but want of time has prevented me from doing it.

You remember the green canvas bag which contained my dictionary, *Gita*, *Bhajanavali* and such other things. That and the green khadi bag I can't trace anywhere. I thought that you had put them together with the other things in Wardha. The bundle of khadi too which you put at Lady Thakersey's is missing.

[1]&[2] The telegram was reported under the date-line "Cawanpore, August 16" as sent by Gandhiji "on the eve of the opening of the election campaign of the Parliamentary Board of U.P ".

[3] *Vide* pp 298-9.

It is strange you have not been keeping quite fit there. I do hope you are not denying yourself the fresh fruit and salad which are necessary there to keep oneself in a fit condition for strenuous work.

Your account of your visit to your Oxford cousin[1] is entertaining. Somehow or other the oval Italian face[2] is very attractive to me. Your beautiful description of the baby therefore does not surprise me.

Jamnalalji will be having an operation for his ear trouble today in Bombay. Janakibehn, Om and Mahadev have gone to Bombay for the purpose. This letter will probably contain the result of the operation.[3]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6295. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9761

331. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 16, 1934

JAMNALALJI
SHREE, BOMBAY

THANK GOD. HOPE RESTFUL. LOVE FROM ALL.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 129

[1] In the original the addressee has encircled this word in pencil and written "uncle".

[2] Mirabehn explains: "The 'oval Italian face' refers to my aunt who, though English, has that type of countenance."

[3] Gandhiji had perhaps hoped to include news about the operation. *Vide* also the following four item.

332. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 16, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have just received the wire about the operation. A heavy load of anxiety is off Janakimaiya's head. Do not worry about me. I am quite well. I can eat. I won't run up there in undue haste. I won't go anywhere else either, till I have regained full strength. Don't worry, therefore, and get well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2938

333. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[*August 16, 1934*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Today is the third day after I broke the fast. Health is satisfactory. I started taking milk only yesterday. I have regained fairly good strength. You must have probably read the details in the papers.

For some time I shall be confined here. It will take sometime before I regain strength fully. Let us see what happens at the end of this month.

I will expect regular letters from you.

How is Jamnadas? I hope Santok has taken up some work.

I have just received a wire informing me that Jamnalalji has been successfully operated upon for his ear trouble. There was some reason for worry. The wound is likely to take about six weeks to heal. Write to him. Mahadev has gone there. He will return in a day or two.

I will not write more today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] From the reference to the fast and Jamnalal Bajaj

[PS.]

My respectful greetings to Father and Mother. Why has Jamna become silent?

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8408. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

334. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

August 16, 1934

CHI. MARY,

I had your note. Thank God, the fast went off well though not without causing acute discomfort the last day. I am picking up well. Jamnalalji is in Bombay. He underwent the ear operation today quite successfully. I am here for some days. Mira is working away in England. Do write regularly.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI MARY BARR
KHEDI, NEAR BETUL, C. P.

From a photostat: G.N. 6025. Also C.W. 3354. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

335. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

August 16, 1934

CHI. RAMA,

Thanks even for your two lines. Are you calm now? How do you spend your time? Read about the rest in the other letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5366

336. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

August 16, 1934

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter. I am doing well. The rest you must have seen from the newspapers. Jamnalalji has undergone in Bombay today a successful operation of the ear.

Without your consent I will not write anything to Keshu and others about Damodardas. His argument is without substance. I find in it neither the dharma of friendship nor any other. My distrust of Damodardas as also of Keshu and others is increasing. That is why unless I am fully confident of the truth I cannot remain perfectly neutral and that undermines my capacity for serving Keshu's people. It is a matter of regret that Damodardas fails to understand this clear-cut dharma. But whether he does or not, you at any rate ought to understand it clearly. You have one more duty. It is not possible for you to hide anything in this world from me. Therefore those who discuss things with you should know that ultimately it will all reach me. How to use that knowledge depends on me. If this is clear you should let me have your opinion. You may acquaint Damodardas with this letter. What more shall I say? I can give you this assurance that I will not write anything to Keshu and others without your consent.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2419

337. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

August 16, 1934

I am all right.

Thus returned Mahatma Gandhi, with a winning smile, my greeting and my query about his progress. . . . He had been reading *What Marx Really Meant* by G. D. H Cole, which Gandhiji said he had been reading during his fast and he had not yet finished. When asked about his future programme, Gandhiji continued in a low voice:

I have no plans ready. My immediate concern is to pick up strength.

He added he was making satisfactory progress and for the first time after eight days he had been at his charkha yesterday for about half an hour. He also wrote an article[1] yesterday for this week's *Harijan* and did some walking too. He hoped to regain his energy and strength soon He said he would continue to stay in Wardha during convalescence unless some pressing engagement took him out of it.

If you ask me whether I thought anything about the Congress during the seven days, I can say as I have stated in the columns of *Harijan* that I constantly thought of Congressmen. I was not thinking in terms of politics and therefore not of what the Congress had to gain in the wake of independence, but I was concentrating on the great necessity of achieving internal purity.

Letters have been coming to me from Congressmen confirming my fears about corrupt methods that have crept into the Congress ranks over Congress elections and the like. How I wished, during all the seven days that I was lying on my bed, that every man and woman belonging to the Congress would realize that he or she was in it, not in order to mount to office and fame, but to render mute service to the country! I cannot understand the mutual mudslinging and violence of speech toward one another.

Civil disobedience is certainly not for those who have not learnt the art of voluntary obedience to law, even when it is irksome. This elementary principle seems to have been altogether forgotten, or else one could not witness spirit of indiscipline and disobedience to laws and rules which we have ourselves enacted and to which we have voluntarily pledged ourselves to render obedience.

For me, therefore, every other thing has paled into insignificance before this prime necessity of achieving internal purity, for I do feel that just as without the purity of Harijan workers untouchability would not be removed so also do I feel that the Congress, as a powerful national organization, will perish unless it is sustained by internal purity of those who compose that organization. At present, I have no other message to give, for my mind is still preoccupied with this predominant feeling.

The Hindu, 16-8-1934

[1] *Vide* pp 309-10

338. LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR[1]

[On or before *August 17, 1934*][2]

The Congress candidates will be selected by the Parliamentary Board for each consituency wherever Congress wishes to give a fight. If a Congressman wishing to enter the Legislature had conscientious scruples about the acceptance of the resolution[3] of the Congress Working Committee relating to the Communal Award he will so state his objections in his letter or application to the Board and if the Board approves of his nomination as otherwise desirable it will respect his scruples and nominate him as a candidate. Refusal or acceptance of the application will depend solely upon the discretion of the Board. Mr. Aney knows this position.[4]

The Hindustan Times, 18-8-1934

339. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Unrevised *August 17, 1934*

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Your passionate and touching letter[5] deserves a much longer reply than my strnegth will permit.

I had expected fuller grace from the Government. However your presence has done for Kamala and incidentally for Mama

[1]&[2] The letter was reported under the date-line "Nagpur, August 17" as "a reply to the addressee's telegram urging Gandhiji to bring about a compromise between the Congress and the Nationalists and grant freedom of conscience to the Congress members regarding voting on the Communal Award".

[3] *Vide* Appendix I.

[4] In *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, pp. 576-7, Pattabhi Sitaramayya explains that the compromise was not accepted by M. S. Aney and M. M. Malaviya. Consequently they resigned from the Congress Parliamentary Board and summoned a conference of Congressmen and others at Calcutta on August 18 and 19 under the presidentship of Malaviya, which announced the formation of Nationalist Party with the object of carrying on agitation in the Legislatures and outside against the Communal Award and the White Paper, and to put up candidates for the Legislative Assembly to promote that object.

[5] Dated August 13; *vide* Appendix V.

what no drugs or doctors could have done. I hope that you will be allowed to remain longer than the very few days you expect.

I understand your deep sorrow. You are quite right in giving full and free expression to your feelings. But I am quite sure that from our common standpoint a closer study of the written word will show you that there is not enough reason for all the grief and disappointment you have felt. Let me assure you that you have not lost a comrade in me. I am the same as you knew me in 1917 and after. I have the same passion that you knew me to possess for the common goal. I want complete independence for the country in the full English sense of the term. And every resolution that has pained you had been framed with that end in view. I must take full responsibility for the resolutions and the whole conception surrounding them.

But I fancy that I have the knack for knowing the need of the time. And the resolutions are a response thereto. Of course here comes in the difference of our emphasis on the method or the means which to me are just as important as the goal and in a sense more important in that we have some control over them whereas we have none over the goal if we lose control over the means.

Do read the resolution about 'loose talk' dispassionately. There is not a word in it about socialism. Greatest consideration has been paid to the socialists some of whom I know so intimately. Do I not know their sacrifice? But I have found them as a body to be in a hurry. Why should they not be? Only, if I cannot march quite as quick, I must ask them to halt and take me along with them. That is literally my attitude. I have looked up the dictionary meaning of socialism. It takes me no further than where I was before I read the definition. What will you have me to read to know its full content? I have read one of the books Masani[1] gave me and now I am devoting all my spare time to reading the book recommended by Narendra Deva.

You are hard on the members of the Working Committee They are our colleagues such as they are. After all we are a free institution. They must be displaced, if they do not deserve confidence. But it is wrong to blame them for their inability to undergo the sufferings that some others have gone through.

[1] M. R. Masani; the reference is perhaps to *What Marx Really Meant*; *vide* p. 315.

After the explosion I want construction. Therefore now, lest we do not meet, tell me exactly what you will have me to do and who you think will best represent your views.

As to the trust[1], I was not present. Vallabhbhai was. Your attitude betrays anger. You should trust the trustees to do their duty. I did not think there was anything wrong. I was too preoccupied to concentrate on it. I shall now study the papers and everything. Of course your feelings will be fully respected by other trustees. Having given you this assurance, I would ask you not to take this matter so personally as you have done. It more becomes your generous nature to give the same credit to your co-trustees for regard for Father's memory that you would take for yourself. Let the nation be the custodian of Father's memory and you only as one of the nation.

I hope Indu is well and likes her new life. And what about Krishna?

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1934. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, pp. 117-9

340. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 18, 1934

JAMNALALJI
SHREE, BOMBAY

MAHADEV GAVE GOOD NEWS ABOUT YOU. NO TALKING ALLOWED. PARLIAMENTARY BOARD MEETING POSTPONED. AM GAINING STRENGTH.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 172

[1] Trust for Anand Bhawan

341. TELEGRAM TO HIRALAL SHARMA

August 18, 1934

DR. SHARMA
KHURJA

DO WHAT YOU THINK PROPER ABOUT RAMDAS.[1]

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48*, facing p. 88

342. LETTER TO SHERWOOD EDDY

August 18, 1934

DEAR DR. EDDY,

I hope this will be in your hands in due time. If you have to go away without our meeting, I shall be very sorry indeed. During convalescence after the recent fast medical friends would not hear of my leaving Wardha quite so soon, and I do not feel like overriding their advice. If, therefore, we do not meet, you will please put down on paper as much as you can of what you intended to say to me. I know what a poor substitute it would be for a heart-to-heart conversation. But a letter from you will have its own value for me.

I hope you had a good voyage, and that the same good fortune will accompany you during the balance of your journey.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SHERWOOD EDDY
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Hiralal Sharma explains that Ramdas had made considerable progress in health. He was eager to go back to Wardha. But the addressee did not favour this idea lest he (Ramdas) might impair his health there. Rather, he wished him to be sent abroad and engaged in some different type of work. He had, therefore, written to Gandhiji to advise Ramdas accordingly.

343. LETTER TO H. A. POPLEY

August 18, 1934

DEAR REV. POPLEY,

I thank you for your letter. I wish it was possible for me to go to Bombay if only to see Dr. Eddy. But medical friends forbid any such movement, and I do not feel the call to override their advice. By as much conservation as possible of the energy being daily gathered I am trying to regain lost strength as quickly as possible.

My fast was a rich experience for me. You have perhaps come across my reflections[1] on it in the current issue of *Harijan*.

REV. H. A. POPLEY
ERODE (S. INDIA)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

344. LETTER TO BHASKAR MUKHERJI

August 18, 1934

MY DEAR BHASKAR,

I have read your letter to Mahadev of the 15th instant. I cannot help thinking that you have closed down the scavengers' schools much too hastily. The Section 91 that you quote, I certainly do not read in the manner you do. It does not prohibit the Corporation from using even a part of the lakh of rupees for education among scavenger boys and girls. On the contrary, I should read the Section to compel the Corporation to use a part of the funds amongst the scavengers. The Section to be of any use can only mean that the Corporation will begin by spending the money among the poorest, and surely not among the fashionable suburbs of Calcutta for instance. Has the Corporation taken legal opinion on the interpretation of the Section in question? If, therefore, there is any chance of the Corporation retracing its steps in the matter, I ask for its reconsideration.

With reference to the penultimate paragraph of your letter I would like you to tell me in detail what work the Corpora-

[1] *Vide* "God Be Praised", pp. 309-10.

tion has done, and is doing, for Harijans and what sum is spent during the past twelve months in their behalf.

That I am dictating this letter shows that I am gaining strength.

Jawaharlal's release has brought relief to poor Kamala and relieved Jawaharlal's many friends of a great burden of anxiety over Kamala's ill-health.

My love to baby and children. I hope you are doing well in every respect.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

345. *LETTER TO HIRALAL SHARMA*

August 18, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

Jamnalalji has been operated upon and he is in a Bombay hospital. About Ramdas, I have wired[1] that the proper thing may be done. I do not feel it would be your dharma to come away leaving Devi in this condition but I cannot insist on my view in this matter. Every man forms his own code of conduct as a father. What more can I write? We can continue the discussion in person or through letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48,* facing p. 89

346. *LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

August 19, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

You seem to be progressing satisfactorily. Do not be impatient about the healing of the wound. It will heal in its own time. Do not worry about work at all. You must not talk either. If you wish to say something, you may write it down. If you follow this rule, it will help you very much.

You should not worry about things here at all. Nobody gives me any trouble. I do not exert myself too much. My weight

[1] *Vide* p. 320.

has reached 96 lb. You need not worry about the Ashram. Let Madanmohan stay there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

This was written before 4 a.m., some time after that Kamalnayan came and saw me. If doctors advise you against sleeping on the side on which the operation has been performed, it would be advisable to lie on one side only despite any discomfort that you may experience.

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 130

347. LETTER TO UMADEVI BAJAJ

August 19, 1934

CHI. OM,

I get your letters. Do not be remiss in writing to me. Fix a certain hour daily for writing, so that you will do no other work at that time. Write slowly and in a careful hand. Give me all the details about what Jamnalalji can eat and drink, how he sleeps, what is the condition of the pain, what is the progress of the healing, who are the visitors, etc., etc. You should not make him talk. If any people come to talk to him, you should not let them. If these rules are observed, the healing will be quicker.

Give me an account of how you spend the time. Where do all of you sleep? Give a description of the hospital. Who are the other patients there?

Gopi is still here. Her health is as poor as ever. Write to her. Madalasa comes regularly to do your share of the daily work. I give your letters to her to read.

It is about 4 a.m. just now. I sat down to write this letter after cleaning my teeth.

I felt glad after reading Janakimaiya's letter. She must be feeling happy now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 336

348. *LETTER TO CALCUTTA CONGRESSMEN*

August 19, 1934

I am afraid that your optimism is ill-grounded, for I have seen nothing as yet to shake my confidence in the correctness of the Working Committee's resolution. The utmost limit within which accommodation was possible was prescribed in Benares. There it stands.

Nobody approves of the Award—much less has anybody acquiesced in it. Everybody condemns it. But a Congressman, because he is a Congressman, can neither accept it nor reject it because if he did one or the other he would be taking sides and therefore not represent the whole nation. I can easily respond to your optimism but if it is based on the belief that I shall anyway influence the Working Committee to reconsider the resolution, I am afraid that your optimism is ill-grounded.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 24-8-1934

349. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

August 19, 1934

I have your letter enclosing copy of your letter to the Press in answer to a sanatanist's letter about the elections. I think your reply is perfect. But I do not suppose that it will produce any effect upon the sanatanists who never want to be convinced. But it will steady the waverers.

I suppose you have heard that the Parliamentary Board is not meeting here. They have postponed the meeting indefinitely.

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

350. LETTER TO P. G. DATE AND OTHERS

August 19, 1934

DEAR FRIENDS,

I saw your letter of the 12th August only yesterday. It is certainly regrettable if your votes were not registered at the elections referred to by you. But the proper course for you to adopt is to lodge your complaint with the Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and, if you fail to get relief, to send your appeal to the Working Committee.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. G. DATE AND OTHERS
C/O THE BOMBAY STUDENTS' BROTHERHOOD
FRENCH BRIDGE, CHOWPATTY
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

351. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

August 19, 1934

DEAR MOTIBABU,

I thank you for your letter. I am slowly regaining lost strength. I would like you to send me a detailed report of your activities, and then if I have any suggestions to make of course I shall do so.

With love.

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI MOTILAL ROY
PRABARTAK SANGH
CHANDRANAGORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

352. LETTER TO N. R. NADIG

August 19, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is beyond my power to give you any help; nor can I make any suggestion as to the way in which you should go about your work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. N. R. NADIG
W. T. SANITORIUM
MIRAJ

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

353. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

August 19, 1934

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

You may start writing to me now. I am daily increasing the amount of work I do. I write a good many letters. Thakkar Bapa used to read out to me your letters to him. You seem to be succeeding well. You are on the right path. Is Rama calm? Personally I liked Dhiru's going there. Can he think and understand things now? How is Vimu? You may write to me whatever you wish to.

Maganbhai must be giving you other news. I, therefore, don't write about those things here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5524

354. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 19, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. I understand what you say regarding Siddhimati. She shouldn't have left like that. I am of the opinion that she should not be re-admitted all too easily.

Has Jamnadas gone out in search of a job? I tried to persuade him to stay with me, but he did not. His anger does not seem to have subsided yet. Didn't he and others read the circular letters which I wrote to you?

I am glad that Lilavati is doing well. If Kusum is getting fever, wouldn't it be advisable for her to go to Ranavav? She always gets better there. Chimanlal's case also is pitiable. His health doesn't improve at all. Do not put too much trust in Amala's letter. She is very cheerful here. She is even improving a little. So long as I live here, it will not be advisable to shift her from here. Even when I leave this place permanently, I will burden you with the responsibility for her only if I think that she can safely go there. I am sure that, if she is likely to improve under anybody, she would do so under you.

If Keshu succeeds in his experiment regarding the spinning-wheel, it will be a great achievement. He should continue the experiments. The time-limit cannot be extended now, but, if he succeeds in inventing a spinning-wheel which would have deserved the prize, everybody will welcome it. He should not, therefore, worry. We have not so far received any model which would deserve a prize.

I have still not been able to decide anything about the dairy. I wish to discuss the matter also with Jamnalalji who is in hospital. I gathered your viewpoint to be that it should be run as an independent activity and should not be handed over to the Harijan Ashram. Is this impression of mine correct?

Has there been any change in Harilal's mode of life? Does he exercise self-control there or does he continue to live in the same manner?

It is excessively humid here. The rainfall has beeen quite heavy. If possible, I don't wish to shift you from there for the Kanya Ashram. You have been doing excellent work there. It

is desirable that you should put everything in perfect order. In case of absolute necessity here, you will of course be available. Vinoba has agreed to take up complete responsibility. I see that I shall have to call you here once before I decide anything. I hope I shall be able to give you fairly long notice.

I am regaining strength fairly well. Even if the progress is rather slow, I am satisfied.

Narahari, Kishorelal, Maganbhai, Soman and Kakasaheb are here at present. I have been discussing[1] with them plans for proper organization of villages.

I hope you read the *Harijan* carefully. I suppose you know that Krishnamachari and Sulochana are here. Amtussalaam and Vasumati are with me, and of course Prabha. Ramdas may come back in three or four days. There is an epidemic of cholera in Khurja.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U /I. Also C W. 8409. Courtesy. Narandas Gandhi

355. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

August 19, 1934

CHI. MANUDI,

You seem to have forgotten Grandma, and me too? Is that proper? Write to me and let me know what you are studying and where. Bhai[2] is there at present. I hope you don't feel afraid. How is aunt's health? Who else are there just now?

Give me all the news. Vidya is still here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W 1531. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

[1] *Vide* pp 305-9.

[2] Harilal Gandhi, addressee's father

356. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 19, 1934

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your messages. Please see if you can come here after you have got all right. Andrews is coming on the 25th. I think it will be good if you are here then. I do get here as much rest as I need. Nobody bothers me. The chowkidars also follow Jamnalalji's instructions to the letter. I am sure that you, too, will get more peace here than you do there. But you can think of that only after you have completely recovered from fever and regained peace of mind. If you come, Mani will definitely benefit at any rate.

I understand that nothing can be done about your nose trouble just now. If anything can be done by staying on there for some time, I think it will be worth while to do so. Let us see if it helps. There will be no risk at all in getting it done just now. The only thing is that you will have to keep to the bed for some time. That need not matter.

I had a long letter from Jayaprakash yesterday. He is very unhappy. He has read much but does not seem to have digested all that he has read. And he certainly has no experience. But he can pour out in speeches what he has read. That impresses educated people, which fact increases his enthusiasm and he leaves home and family, neglects his health and goes about rousing people. He has, however, said in his letter that he will come and see me. Let us see what happens.

There is no possibility of my leaving the Congress immediately. But I share my agony with you.

How can I leave the Congress till you and others permit me to do so. Personally, however, I do feel that there is no other way for me. I seem to be obstructing the growth of the Congress. To cling to the means without faith in it or to fail to act according to one's faith—what a pitiable and frightful condition to be in! Is it not your duty to save the Congress from it? There may be no harm [in my remaining in the Congress] so long as I can think of some means of fighting the rot, but what can I do if I cannot think of any way except leaving the Congress? My doing so will rid it of hypocrisy. If the attitude of

the ordinary Congressman is that no distinction need be made between truth and falsehood, violence and non-violence, khadi, calico, *jagannathi*[1] and muslin, then it is best that he should act accordingly. But that won't be possible till I leave. These restrictions cannot be removed with my consent, for I would never consent to their removal. If the Congress removes them despite my opposition, would not that amount to expelling me? Would it be desirable to let things go that far? I want to make you, Raja and others think about all these points. If you can come over, we shall discuss them at leisure.

We shall also have to think what I should do in September or after I have regained strength. It is an issue to which we must give thought. The time is drawing near for taking a decision. Jawaharlal's explosion is not as frightening as it seems from the flames. He had a right to let off steam, which he has exercised.[2] I think he has calmed down now.

About the unfortunate cultivators of Gujarat, I will do what you want, but I have definite views of my own in the matter.

What you desired regarding the Parliamentary Board has happened, though the reason for postponment was quite different.

I have written enough, I think, for today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2. Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp 115-6

357. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 20, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I forgot to reply to one question of yours. I can reply to . . .'s[3] letter immediately, but then we ought to think about . . . and others also. Moreover, do you fully agree with the views which I hold on this subject? Personally I think they alone are correct. What does it avail a thief's mother to hide her face?[4] If, therefore, . . . and others want us to keep silent,

[1] A variety of fine cotton cloth
[2] *Vide* Appendix V.
[3] The names are omitted in the source.
[4] A Gujarati saying, which means: 'to bear one's suffering in silence'

we may do so, or alternatively we may issue statements in keeping with what we regard to be the present policy of the Congress. Or I may publish my personal view on my own responsibility. I will prepare a draft[1] and send it to you after you have called . . . to you and come to some decision and informed me. Meanwhile I am writing to . . . and informing him that I am in correspondence with you, and that I will reply to him in detail later. He is in needless hurry. I don't think there is any urgency.

I understand about sending Mahadev to Prayag. I am thinking. Shouldn't I wait for a reply to my letter?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p 117

358. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 20, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

After Vinoba had left yesterday, I received a reassuring wire from Dr. Jivraj, from which I learnt that there was no recurrence of bleeding and that the pain also had subsided. Even then I think it is good that Vinoba has gone there for a short visit. You must have learnt that Kamalnayan himself was the cause of Vinoba's going there. He was very much disturbed by what you had to endure on Saturday and, therefore, immediately on arrival here, he sent me a message through Mahadev. I welcomed the suggestion and sent a message to Vinoba who immediately got ready to go. Madalasa also wanted to go but, being obedient, she stayed back on learning that Vinoba wished to go. She will be duly rewarded for her self-control. It is good that she has stayed back. If your pain has subsided now and your mind is at peace, give leave to Vinoba to return soon. But he can stay as long as he is needed. The management of this place is being organized carefully. Vinoba is busy with the task day and night.

Your promise regarding facilities for education will certainly be kept. I write this to reassure you. Do not try to discuss this matter with Vinoba and exert yourself. Just now your

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", Before 5-9-1934.

chief aim should be to get all right. You need not worry about anything here or elsewhere. And certainly not about me, for my affairs are going on well enough. Radhakisan and Shivaji keep a strict watch over me. I hope you do not talk much. It will be advisable to use with caution any freedom that the doctors may permit. One should follow their advice as long as it is not against dharma. But it is a different matter when they permit any freedom to satisfy us.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Jajuji came and saw me and gave a report. Do not be in a hurry to send back Madanmohan. You may rest assured that nobody here is inconvenienced in any way.

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p 131

359. LETTER TO UMADEVI BAJAJ

August 20, 1934

CHI. OM,

I don't want you to write to me if you do so merely as a task, writing the letters in a careless hand, just to keep your promise. One should keep one's promise both in spirit as well as letter. If your heart is not in keeping the promise, you cannot earn the merit of keeping it by doing so outwardly. I don't want anybody to keep a promise in such manner. Haven't I taught you to do everything as well and as neatly as you can? You should not do anything perfunctorily, no matter whether it is an important or an unimportant thing.

Do not waste a single moment of your time.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 336

360. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

August 21, 1934

CHI. MIRA,

You do not now need to be told how I am getting on. This letter will be enough evidence of the progress made. The food is almost normal.

Your letter is revealing. But I do not want to change my course of action. The cause will be compromised by no one except ourselves. Let them all do their little bit or their utmost there. It is enough for us that they are all well meaning. As you know, I have not set much store by the work that is being done there. Though I do not want to take any action on the strength of what you say, I would like you to have a frank and full discussion with both Agatha and Muriel and hear what they might have to say. So far as the big folk are concerned, I entirely agree with you that you should seek interviews yourself directly. I am quite sure that they will all see you. If they do not, you need not mind.

The question of Dara is different and difficult. One does not know how to help. He has always appeared to me to be mysterious. Brockway[1] is supposed to be the leader. But he did not seem to me to lead. He was apologetic about Dara and in no way enthusiastic. I am afraid we can do very little for him. Of course there is no difficulty about carrying on correspondence with him. We do no more for the friends or the fellowship group. We pay nothing. Agatha is paid and that is all. It is well to follow Shakespeare's advice: "Give thy ear to everyone, thy voice to none." You will gather all the information and we shall confer when we meet, if we do at all., 'If' clause is merely precautionary. Nothing hangs by it. I have no present plans except the convalescence. Andrews reaches Bombay on 25th. He should be with me on 26th.

The news about Jawaharlalji and the others you will get from Mahadev and Pyarelal whoever may be writing.

Today is exactly one week after the breaking of the fast.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6296. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9762

[1] A. Fenner Brockway

361. LETTER TO SISTER AMATA

August 21, 1934

MY DEAR AMATA,

I had your precious letter just after the completion of the fast. God bless you all the larks[1]. I must not try to write too many letters as yet though you will be glad to know that I am slowly but surely regaining the lost strength. Only I have need yet to be careful.

Love to you all.

BAPU

SISTER AMATA
EREMO, FRANCESCANO
TREVI (UMBRIA)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

362. LETTER TO G. R. SAHGAL

August 21, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your offer. What are you doing there? What are you getting there? What are the things you can teach and what is the salary that you would expect? Are you married? What is your age? Have you dependants? If you have, who are they? What is your father doing?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI G. R. SAHGAL
C/o GURUKULA
SUPA, *via* NAVSARI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Sisters of the Italian Convent of St. Francis; *vide* Vol. LII, p. 57.

363. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

August 21, 1934

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I am glad that your venture is making steady progress. Don't be in a hurry, but build on a solid foundation.

If the boy in question was merely a nominal convert and knew nothing of Christianity or of any religion in fact, in my opinion he never ceased to belong to the religion of his birth. And then there is no question of reconversion. If, however, he was a *bona-fide* convert it is none of your business to reconvert him. His faith must be personal to him and he has to be answerable to God for what he actually is. I hope this is quite clear.

There can be no objection to your admitting Christian boys, but they cannot be a charge on the ordinary Harijan Funds. You have to procure scholarships for them from personal friends, if the students are otherwise deserving. It would be a pity if they had to be turned out for want of funds. And yet it would be wrong to disburse their expenses out of the Harijan Funds which are intended solely for Hindus.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI S. GANESAN
8 PYCROFTS ROAD
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

364. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

August 21, 1934

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter. Your generosity of heart knows no bounds. You would not mind if I don't write. But I don't wish just now to take advantage of your generosity. All the same, you deserve compliments for it. I am glad that you went and saw Jamnalalji and also that you prayed with him. It was very good of him indeed to offer on his own to meet your expenses. May

your future be as good as your beginning is. There can be no end, of course.

In saying[1] that we are born every day I didn't wish to show up your childishness. I had no such thought even in my dreams. On the contrary, I tried to express my appreciation of your having asked for my blessings. You may, therefore, continue to ask for my blessings for your birthday.

I feel no pain at all if somebody slanders the Ashram. But I do feel pain if anybody doubts the reason which I have given for offering it as sacrifice. How could I offer as sacrifice something which I did not regard as pure? I hope you have explained this properly. But it is our duty to bear everything serenely.

I am very glad that you met Father and that his anger has left him. I have no doubt that this understanding between you two will endure.

Things are going on all right with me. I am regaining strength. Write to me from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G N. 10358 Also C W. 6797 Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

365. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 21, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Yesterday I got excellent reports about your health the whole day. In the evening I got a joint wire from Dr. Jivraj and Dr. Rajabali. If this progress is maintained, you will get all right soon. But you should not be impatient. Let things go on as they may. Do not be in a hurry to attend to the various problems. Tell Om that there was no letter from there today. Perhaps I may get a wire today.

Convey my *vandemataram* to Dr. Rajabali. His caution is beyond praise. You will find enclosed a cutting meant for Dr. Jivraj.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of. the Gujarati. G.N. 2939

[1] *Vide* p. 268.

366. LETTER TO LILAVATI MUNSHI

August 21, 1934

CHI. LILAVATI,

I did get your letter. I have been trying to give effect to one of your suggestions—about bringing Kumarappa into this. I am afraid it will be difficult for me to write for *Swadeshi*. I cannot ride two horses at the same time. You must have read about my decision to widen the scope of *Harijan*. Whatever ideas occur to me will, therefore, go into it. Since my store is limited, I cannot write the same thing in several journals. For the present, therefore, please be satisfied with what I write in *Harijan*. However, continue to send me copies of *Swadeshi*. Has the new policy been fully accepted there? Lallukaka said that there was no change. Have you fully grasped the new form? Do you feel interested in it? Can you understand it?

Is Jagadish fully ready now? Are both of you fully restored?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7551. Courtesy: Lilavati Munshi

367. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

August 21, 1934

BHAI MUNSHI,

My health is improving so well that my capacity for work is increasing every day. I had glanced through the note you gave to Shankerlal. It need not be used publicly just now. I liked your suggestion regarding the Congress elections. But it is incomplete. Draft whatever improved rules seem necessary to you. Draft the by-rules also. For giving effect to some of the suggestions, it will be necessary to amend the Constitution. Don't hesitate to suggest such changes too. You will have to find time for this. Do so if you can.

If you send me cuttings of what you have been writing in newspapers, I will try to find time and read them. No hour has

been fixed when even Mahadev or Pyarelal can give me their substance after reading them. Everybody is so busy with his own work that he can get no free time. And even if one of them can do so, he will not find me free.

The work of the Bombay Congress is certainly difficult. The picture you have drawn is quite correct. It is not an easy job in such circumstances to work so as to enhance the prestige of the Congress. Do the best that you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7552. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

368. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 21, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have received a letter from . . .[1] in which she has poured out her grief. I thought I should send it to you and am, therefore, doing so. A summary by me would not have served the purpose. Try to heal her wound. There seems to have been some misunderstanding. She has become very sensitive. She has suffered a good many blows recently and is likely to have to suffer more still. We don't know when the problem will be solved. Meanwhile we should try to soothe her as much as we can.

I hope you got my previous letter[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8410. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] The name has been omitted.
[2] *Vide* pp. 327-8.

369. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 21, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. I understand the need for you to remain there. You alone can judge which need is more important. Whether here or there, we have to do the same sort of work. We should stay where the need is greater. You may, therefore, do what you think proper. About the Congress work in Bombay, my view is that those who have undertaken the responsibility should do the job in their own way or give up control of the organization. How long will they be able to hide the truth?

The problem of purifying the Congress is a big one. We can discuss it in detail only when we meet. I agree with what you write about . . .[1]. The Congress must decide its policy. Let us send for . . .[2] and discuss the matter with him and have done with the problem. I had a letter from . . .[3], to which I have replied saying that he may come in the first week of September and may fix the date through you. If it is impossible for you to come then, I will argue out the matter with them. I will not give anything in writing without showing it to you.

I fully understand your impatience regarding Gujarat. Do what you think best. We must have our eyes on the future.

When Andrews comes there, have a frank and full discussion with him about everything. I will write to you or ask somebody to write to you about what happens here.

Mahadev is going to Prayag today. He will return before Saturday.

Please don't overwork and fall ill again.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I forgot to write about Kaka. He had taken the decision[4] with my consent. I liked it. It was not taken in resentment but was inspired by his sense of duty. I myself suggested to him that he should write to you. I didn't even ask myself whether you had a right

[1],[2]&[3] The names are omitted in the source.

[4] Of resigning from all trusts

to be consulted.[1] Kaka felt very unhappy, and rightly, for having written[2] that he had consulted trustees when he had not done so.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 118-9

370. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA

August 21, 1934

CHI. ANNAPURNA[3],

I have a letter from you after a long time. How much do you spin daily? What speed have they all attained? What is the count?

I hope all are keeping well.

Some attempt should be made to construct *pucca* roads in the rural areas. Rural development can be brought about at a very low cost if the villagers lend a helping hand.

Thakkar Bapa must have replied to Father's letter. I have now started writing little by little. You may write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI ANNAPURNA KUMARI
BAREE, CUTTACK

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2786

371. TELEGRAM TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

August 22, 1934

SIR PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI
BHAVNAGAR

HOPE YOU ARE DOING NEEDFUL REGARDING ALLEGED ILLTREATMENT HARIJANS TALAJA.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5934. Also C.W. 3250. Courtesy: Mahesh P. Pattani

[1] The reference is to the transfer of the Gujarat Vidyapith Library to the Ahmedabad Municipality without consulting Vallabhbhai, who was one of the Trustees; *vide* pp. 265-6.

[2] To the Collector of Ahmedabad; *vide* Vol. LV, Addendum II, p. 472.

[3] Daughter of Gopabandhu Chowdhry

[4] *Vide* also "Terrible Oppression", 2-9-1934.

372. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

August 22, 1934

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your wire. As long as God wishes to take some service from this body, He will preserve it. When it is no more needed, would not even a yawn suffice to end life? I am regaining strength. I am gradually returning to work.

Read the accompanying. If the facts stated in it are correct, take whatever measures you would for a friend or relation in a similar plight.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

After I had written the above, I received a wire from Bhavnagar giving more details. I, therefore, sent a wire[1] and post this letter to follow it.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5935. Also C.W. 3251. Courtesy: Mahesh P. Pattani

373. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

August 22, 1934

MY DEAR AGATHA,

This is merely to tell you that I am slowly rebuilding the body. The seven days' rest was good at the price of seven or eight pounds of flesh. I knew your anxiety which you showed in your letter and cable. I could not avoid the fast. Friends have to put up with that part of me. For this last may not be the last of my fasts. I can survive discredit by the world and not by myself.

Of the current events you will know from Mahadev and Pyarelal and the cuttings that Chandrashankar may be sending you. These letter(s) are not, I think, duplicated to Mira. Whatever you may consider necessary, you will pass on to Mira. She

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

seems to be going about in a business-like manner. Anyway you must give your own impressions.

Poor Kamlani![1] I expect to have full accounts from you and Polak.

C.F. Andrews reaches Bombay on 25th. He may be here on 26th. Till then do not be anxious about the future. I have no cut and dried plan. Of course Bengal and the Frontier with Abdul Ghaffar Khan as the centre-piece are there. But I see no clear line of action. I want to precipitate nothing. But things may become impossible for me any moment. I must have room to move. The Black Hole will suffocate anybody—much more me, an open-air creature. A most unnatural condition is becoming naturalized in this unhappy land. This is written to give you my mental condition, not to expect more from you than you are doing. What can you the handful do, if we here can do nothing ? And I admit that we are doing nothing or not enough. It is in this atmosphere that I have to act when this convalescence is finished. You must not be alarmed. What I have described is nothing new. You know these things. I have put them here in order to show that the things are about the same as when you left India. Not even all the ordinary civil disobedience prisoners have been discharged. And extraordinary treatment is being meted out to Jawaharlal. He may be pounced upon any day. They have put him out. Without seeming indecent he can't find himself in prison and they tell him he may be taken away any moment. This gives no chance to poor Kamala for whose sake Jawaharlal is discharged. This is cruelty double distilled. And in spite of their declarations, many prisoners are still being detained without the slightest cause. Attachments of land still going on for fines! My ahimsa is on its mettle. But I do not want to act. I am passive till God wants me to act; not my will but His shall be done.

You should share this with Mira and Muriel without fail. Of course Polak and any other you like.

Love to you and your sister to whom I was unable to write when her little note was received.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1479

[1] *Vide* p. 299.

374. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

August 22, 1934

MY DEAR MURIEL,

I take this up after a long letter[1] to Agatha. Hence I must be brief now. I am getting on as well as might be after a fast of seven days.

I would like you to give me your experiences of Russia if you can spare the time.

I have never forgotten the commission you gave me about writing out my thoughts on non-violence for Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. But there has been no time left for me to do the work and I do not know whether I shall ever get the time for it. I can only promise to bear the commission in mind.

You remember you were to go specially to Rome in order to unravel the mystery of that interview.[2] You were to meet the Editor of that journal and find out from him what he actually had said and what he had to say to you. This thing may have no value now for the outside world. But it was for you and one who wants merely to serve Truth and nothing but *It*.

How has Mira shaped according to your view ?

My love to you and Doris[3] and the rest of the growing family.

MISS MURIEL LESTER
BOW, LONDON

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] A fake interview with Gandhiji published in an Italian paper was reported by *The Times* correspondent in Rome. *Vide* Vol. LVII, pp. 251-3 and 282.

[3] Addressee's sister

375. LETTER TO S. N. GANGULI

August 22, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You are quite right in saying that I have not been able to discover any royal road to physical *brahmacharya*. All that I can say is that you have to persevere along the lines suggested by me. Pure food, fresh air and moderate amount of exercise are to yield the desired result. *Pranayama* and some *asanas* have been reported also to produce good results. Hip-baths are also valuable. Mustard oil is a condiment which should be eschewed. In fact, I would advise you to eschew all oils. Vegetables should be boiled. Starchy vegetables should be avoided, and so should be pulses. You need not worry about milk. Honey is no substitute for milk. You should take a fair quantity everyday. And above all you should persevere in praying and have faith that your prayer will be answered.

SHRI SATYENDRANATH GANGULI
ATHARABARI
MYMENSING DISTRICT

Yours sincerely,

Form a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

376. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 22, 1934

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

Here is a problem for you to solve. Kaka wishes to go and work in the South. This has no connection with his resignation as trustee.[1] I have been telling the teachers[2] who have assembled here that they should go and live in villages and, through constructive work, do what they can to organize village life and educate the people. The teachers like this idea and those who can be

[1] *Vide* p. 339-40.
[2] *Vide* pp. 305-9.

relieved are ready to take up such work. Kaka is one of them. We of course wish to utilize the Vidyapith buildings for meeting the needs of the city. . . .[1]

Mahadev left yesterday evening. He will reach Prayag tonight.

Mathuradas will certainly go to receive Andrews on Saturday. Send some others, too, who can go. If possible, put him up with you and, if he wishes, let him leave for Wardha on the same day.

I got your letter after I had written the above.

It was good that you could meet . . .[2]. Let him, the *Chronicle*, *The Free Press*, etc., agitate for the release of prisoners. We may remain silent on minor issues, but why should we do so on an important one? Dahyabhai should ask Natarajan[3] also to attend. According to a wire received from Ghanshyamdas, he intends to leave on Monday for Wardha.

I believe Andrews will stay for three or four days at least. But it is also likely that he might want to leave immediately for Santiniketan. You may yourself ascertain his intention.

I cannot write more today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 119-20

377. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

Unrevised *August 22, 1934*

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. You may certainly summon Damodardas if you so wish. It is unnecessary to consult me on such matters; how can I even object to it ? I have no desire to curtail your independence in any way. But I do want your consent, if I can have it, to my making use of the remarks made by Damodardas regarding . . .[4] and others in order that I may be able to do them justice. This matter is hurting me like poison because now I am terribly embarrassed while writing to . . .[5] and . . .[6]. This is probably the first occasion in my life that I heard something

[1]&[2] Omissions as in the source
[3] Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*
[4],[5]&[6]The names have been omitted.

against them which affects me yet I may not let them know. It will be enough if I am released from this restriction.

I will never involve myself in the Delhi Congress controversy. Such matters are now beyond my strength.

Since I have your permission I am sending your letter to Sardar. The reference to Damodardas is of course there.

By now you must have realized the point about your writing to Prabhavati about the marriage. It was not as if this subject could not have been discussed at all but that it should never have been discussed with Prabhavati. This has never been nor can it ever become her sphere till she has gained some independence in such matters. A discussion about any girl of the Ashram can take place only with Jamnalalji, Vinoba or myself; and in such affairs Vinoba and I give precedence to Jamnalalji. What need was there to write to Prabhavati when the right thing was to contact Jamnalalji?

You may, by all means go to Mussoorie for your health's sake. We shall see afterwards.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2420

378. STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

[On or before *August 23, 1934*][2]

What was offered was freedom of speech and vote to elect candidates who had real conscientious scruples over the acceptance of the Working Committee's resolution on the Communal Award. This would not satisfy Panditji. He desired full freedom of action for all. This amounted to a nullification of the Working Committee's resolution which the Committee could not do. It was a mistake to suppose that the Working Committee's resolution was a virtual acceptance of the Award. The Committee neither accepted nor rejected the Award and thus proved its impartiality and national character. It was the only way to arrive at an agreed solution which was sure to come if Congressmen, Hindus,

[1] The source had reported: "As some confusion appears to have been created over Gandhiji's offer of compromise regarding the Communal Award Resolution of the Working Committee, he was asked to clear the position."

[2] The statement was reported under the date-line, "Wardha, August 23", 1934. *Vide* also "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", p. 352.

Mussalmans and others, loyally and seriously worked out the resolution.

Mahatma Gandhi was then asked if Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's new organization could run the elections in the name of the Congress. He replied that the Parliamentary Board was the only authorized body which could function in the name of the Congress.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 24-8-1934

379. TELEGRAM TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

August 23, 1934

ANAND HINGORANI
SAHITIPUR
KARACHI

HOPE RINGWORM CURED. UNDER SURGICAL ADVICE UNDERGO PILES OPERATION IMMEDIATELY.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

380. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

August 23, 1934

MY DEAR ANAND,

You have given me a tragic tale of your woes. That a little ringworm should develop into a frightful thing passes comprehension. Generally speaking it yields to simple treatment inside of two or three days. Have you not placed yourself under a competent doctor? And you ought not to trifle with your piles. It is a very simple operation, and if a competent surgeon advises that you should go through the operation at once you should do so without demur.

I see that your letter is dated the 16th instant. It was received only yesterday. Evidently the letter takes a long time to reach Karachi and therefore I am sending the following telegram:

> Hope ringworm cured. Under surgical advice undergo piles operation immediately.

You can publish the message on God. If you like you can copy the full text from *Young India*. As you know, selections from

Young India have been published in book form. This message is among the selections.

I am not writing separately to Vidya, but she ought to. I hope she and Mahadev are all right.

Unless you are in a hurry I want to delay sending funds till Jamnalalji is discharged from the hospital or till he is in a position to transact business.

Love to you both.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

381. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

August 23, 1934

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

This is just to greet you.[1] I hope you had a fair voyage. Take the next train if you can.

Love.

MOHAN

C.W. 9683. Courtesy: Viswa Bharati Library, Santiniketan

382. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

August 23, 1934

That you need not write to me and I to you is a great deal. Now that I have written to you, you should write to me. Give Mr. Andrews his letter[2].

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 151

[1] The addressee was to arrive from England on August 25; *vide* p. 342.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item. The addressee was to receive Andrews; *vide* p. 342.

383. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

August 23, 1934

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I remember that letter which, at your instance, I sent to a Sindhi friend. When I receive the draft, I shall send the receipts as suggested by you.

As to the Hampton Institute pamphlets, my own impression is that I passed them on to Thakkar Bapa after I had read them. But in such matters my memory is not to be relied upon at all. I know that I did not destroy them and I must have dealt with them as per your instructions. Nevertheless I have asked Devraj to make a search, and if the pamphlets are traced they will be sent to you.

I hope that you will get a suitable plot of land for the welfare centre. Brijkrishna wrote to me about it.

I am slowly regaining lost strength.

You remember the Agra friend who prepared a note containing hints on tanning. I returned that note for amplification. Whether I sent it to you or to Thakkar Bapa or to Ghanshyamdas I cannot quite recollect. But I would like you to make a search and see whether it was sent to the writer for amhification. If it was, I would ask you to remind him that I am still waiting for that note with the necessary amendments made.

I hope you had a good time in Sindh.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

384. LETTER TO H. A. LALVANI

August 23, 1934

MY DEAR LALVANI,

I have your letter. Why did you not bring the mistake to my notice at once? You can understand the difficulty of making refund in cases of this character. Surely you must have discovered the mistake at once. I would advise you now to forget the 100-rupee note altogether. A big organization like Harijan Sevak Sangh cannot afford to rectify such mistakes. If, however,

you are not satisfied with my advice, I would like you to refer to Jairamdas, and if Jairamdas thinks that this is a case in which refund should be granted I will advise him to write on your behalf to Thakkar Bapa. If you propose to approach Jairamdas, you would show this letter to him.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI H. A. LALVANI
HYDERABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

385. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 23, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letter and also letters from Om, Janakimaiya and Madanmohan. I got a report about you from Vinoba also and just now I received a wire from Dr. Shah. We can expect now that the wound will have completely healed in a few days. But do not build castles in the air. Be patient and stay there as long as necessary. There is no urgent problem at all which requires your immediate attention and nothing to worry about. Radhakisan[1] is able to look after everything here and he and many others keep guard over me.

Can a remark be called a "joke" if you have to explain that it is written in "joke"? Which is better, Janakimaiya's angry complaints or your suppressing your pain and building castles in the air? When Janakimaiya complains, we know that she suffers. But you keep things in your own mind and so others are deceived. Tell me now, who deserves to be admired?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p.132

[1] Addressee's nephew

386. LETTER TO UMADEVI BAJAJ

August 23, 1934

CHI. OM ALIAS SLEEPING BEAUTY[1],

Your letter was a good one. The handwriting should be better still. Now that you are giving up sleeping for sewing, what will the poor tailors do? But they will have no cause for fear because in a few days you will be found sleeping on the sewing machine itself.

Madalasa continues to do your share of the work daily, and as she has no other work to do, kills flies[2] during the rest of the time.

Continue to write to me regularly. You should not let him[3] talk much yet. When visitors come, Janakibehn should talk with them. She is not happy unless she can talk. You also can join in their talk. Then the visitors will have nothing to talk about with Father.

I was weighed today by Radhakisan. The weight was 98. If it goes on increasing like this, who knows how far it will go up?

Do you recite the *Ramayana* properly? The scene between Sumitra and Lakshmana is very moving indeed. But the *Ramayana* is full of such scenes.

At what hour do you get up?

Gopi has gone to Jabalpur today to celebrate the Balev Day[4]. She has promised to return soon. I regularly hear from Gajanan also.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 337

[1]In 1933 the addressee, who was 13 years, accompanied Gandhiji on his Harijan tour, and whenever she had time, she slept.

[2] A Gujarati saying which means: 'Idling away one's time'.

[3] Jamnalal Bajaj

[4] A Hindu festival celebrated on the full-moon day of *Shravana*, when one changes one's sacred thread. Also known as Rakshabandhan when a girl ties a string (called *rakhi, rakhadi* or *raksha*) round the wrist of her brother and receives from him some gift as a token of his readiness to protect her.

387. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 23, 1934

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

Enclosed is a letter from Brijkrishna regarding the dissensions in Delhi. Read it and tear it up. I have categorically stated[1] in my reply that, even if they ask me, I will not intervene in this dispute. Every day I receive nothing but such complaints. Everybody thinks only of himself and nobody thinks of the country. I don't know how, in such circumstances, we can reach our goal.

I have received wires from Bengal, too, against Aney. I have replied in plain words saying that nobody should doubt his impartiality and that he should be fully trusted.

Malaviyaji has ordered *The Hindustan Times* to change its policy on the question of the Award. Ghanshyamdas has resigned because of this, giving reasons in his letter of resignation which reveal his disagreement with Malaviyaji's views. Let us see what happens now. I don't know what has happened to these two.

On receiving a wire from Rajendrababu, I have sent a statement[2] to the Associated Press. You will read it in the papers. If a copy has been preserved, they will send it to you. It would help if you also issued such statements from time to time from Bombay. I had a wire from the Maulana asking me what the formation of the Congress Nationalist Party meant. I have wired back saying that it is the President who should reply to his question, and that, though I would write about it to you, he should send a wire to you. If you receive one, give him a suitable reply.

I received a letter from Rajaji today, which you should read. Tear it up after reading it. If you wish, write to him. If you regain sufficient strength to travel to Madras and if you can get time, you may go there. I have not seen the cutting from *The Statesman*. If I find it, I will send it too. Whatever it writes, how can we hide the truth? Prafulla Ghosh has arrived here. He has a painful tale to tell of the rot in Bengal.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 120-1

[1] *Vide* p. 346.

[2] *Vide* pp. 346-7.

388. INTERVIEW TO KHADI WORKERS[1]

[On or before *August 24, 1934*][2]

Khaddar in a sense is purely an economic proposition. A khaddar organization must be a business concern before everything else. The democratic principle, therefore, cannot apply to it. Democracy necessarily means a conflict of will and ideas, involving sometimes a war to the knife between these different ideas. There can be no room for such conflict within a business organization. Imagine parties, groups and the like in a business concern. It must break to pieces under their weight. But a khadi organization is more than a business concern. It is a philanthropic institution designed to serve demos. Such an institution cannot be governed by popular fancy. There is no room in it for personal ambition.

"In reorganizing your khadi production, you should not forget that the science of khadi, in some respects, works on diametrically opposite lines to that of ordinary business. You know how Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*, after laying down certain principles according to which economic phenomena are governed, went on to describe certain other things which constituted the "disturbing factor" and prevented economic laws from having free play. Chief among these was the 'human element'. Now, it is this 'human element' on which the entire economics of khadi rests; and human selfishness, Adam Smith's "pure economic motive", constitutes the "disturbing factor" that has got to be overcome. What applies to the production of mill-cloth, therefore, does not apply to khaddar. Debasing of quality, adulteration, pandering to the baser tastes of humanity, are current staple in commercialized production; they have no place in khadi, nor has the principle of highest profit and lowest wages any place in khadi. On the contrary, there is no such thing as pure profit in khadi. And there should be no loss. Loss there is, because we,

[1] This appeared under the title "Khadi—A New Orientation" as a "gist of Gandhiji's remarks" to prominent khadi workers of Andhra, including Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sitarama Sastri and Narayana Raju. The discussion continued for two days.

[2] From *The Bombay Chronicle*, 26-8-1934, which had reported that Pattabhi Sitaramayya left Wardha for Madras on August 24, 1934.

the workers, are still incompetent novices. In khadi, the prices realized return to the prime producers, the spinners, the others getting no more than their hire.

Then, take the question of standardization. You cannot enforce it in khaddar. As Rajagopalachari once remarked, a poor, ordinary spinner cannot always spin thread of a uniform quality. She is not a machine. Today she may be unwell, tomorrow her child may be ill and her mind will be distracted. If you have love for the poor spinner or her child, you will not insist on having smooth, even thread always, but be satisfied with what she can give, so long as she gives her best in the condition in which she finds herself at the moment. The sacred touch of her hand gives life and history to khadi which the machine-made yarn can never give. The art that is in the machine-made article appeals only to the eye, the art in khadi appeals first to the heart and then to the eye. I would, therefore, deprecate the bleaching of khadi. It adds to the cost of production, affects the durability of cloth and makes the detection of fraud ever so much more difficult. We must not pamper the popular fancy, but seek to cultivate a new taste. A few washes in the ordinary course will suffice to make khadi perfectly white and give it a softness which bleaching destroys. We must make everybody contribute his or her mite to reduce all unnecessary cost.

If, then, we treat khadi, not as an article of commerce, but as one necessary for the sustenance of semi-starved millions, we must penetrate the spinner's home and induce her to wear khadi made from her own yarn. This at once reduces the cost of production and ensures automatic distribution. So far, we have simply tried to manufacture khadi for the city people. From insignificant beginnings, the production of khaddar has grown to several lakhs per year. We have multiplied varieties. But that does not satisfy me now. Khadi was conceived with a much more ambitious object, i.e., to make our villages starvation-proof. This is impossible, unless the villagers will wear khadi themselves, sending only the surplus to the cities. The singular secret of khadi lies in its salability in the place of its production and use by the manufacturers themselves.

Our overhead charges are today much too high for me. If we concentrate attention on the central mission of khadi, they will be considerably reduced. The rules governing the reduction of the price of khadi are somewhat, if not wholly, different from those that apply to purely commercial articles produced chiefly for profit. In khadi, there is a limitation to the improvement of

tools. But there is no limitation to the improvement of human intelligence and honesty. If we despair of these two, we must despair of khadi. In khadi, therefore, we reduce cost by eliminating middlemen as far as is consistent with the smooth running of the organization, which itself will be unnecessary when khadi is self-supporting and self-acting.

The science of khadi is still in its infancy. It is a developing science. With every new discovery that I make in it, the realization comes to me all the more vividly how little I know of that science. There is no other country in the world, with the possible exception of China, that is potentially so rich as India, with its inexhaustible, untapped reserves of man-power. Tap these reserves, and you at once banish poverty from this country; and hand-spinning is the means by which this could be done. All that we have done so far in khadi was necessary. Without it we could not have reached the present stage. But we have yet only touched the fringe of the problem. We have now need to take another step. If, therefore, you will have autonomy for Andhra khadi, you can have it for the asking and without much trouble about the discharge of your obligations. There is nothing to prevent you from working along the lines suggested by me.

Harijan, 21-9-1934

389. NOTES

Its Physical Effect

A few words about the physical effect of the recent fast will not be out of place. No matter how much spiritually inclined a person may be, a physical act cannot but produce its corresponding physical effect. The latter may be regulated or reduced by the spiritual effort, but it can never be completely overcome. And as I have often fasted for health reasons, i.e., for physical effect, I have not failed to study from that standpoint all the fasts that were taken from spiritual motives. During all the four fasts undertaken for the Harijan cause, I have noticed a particular dislike for water, whether with or without soda or salt, and whether hot or cold. I have been able to bear, but only just bear, aerated water. This inability to drink water has been the greatest drawback in my fasts. I must mention that, being largely a fruitarian and having abstained from condiments of every description, except salt, practically for the past forty years,

I rarely drink water even in the ordinary course. All the liquid I need comes from the fresh juicy fruit and the non-starch vegetables and honey and hot-water drinks. I have known many friends who have gone through long fasts, but I do not know anyone who had had the dislike for water that I had. Medical friends who have kindly helped me during my fasts have not been able to suggest anything within the permissible limits whereby they could make me drink water freely. They have suggested and adopted remedies to reduce the evil effect of inability to drink enough water. My purpose is to compare notes with those who have any knowledge of fasting and to discover a means whereby the dislike of water could be cured. Though I do not know them, surely, there must be people who develop during their fasting periods the same repugnance to water that I do. If any light can be thrown on the question, it will help many persons like me. Much as I should like to avoid having to fast, I cannot make myself believe that the recent fast was the last in my life. It is a matter beyond my control.

The Ajmer Incident

Although Shri Ramnarayan Chaudhri and Shri Durgaprasad Chaudhri, captain of the volunteers in Ajmer, do not in any way wish to be absolved from any blame that may attach to them for forgetfulness or negligence in connection with the Ajmer incident, they are most anxious to have the blame removed from the volunteers who have been condemned in the Press and who they hold to be utterly blameless. They have made careful investigations and find that not a single volunteer was involved in doing injury to Swami Lalnath or his party. The investigation papers have been sent to me. The only deadly piece of evidence in favour of the theory of the guilt of the volunteers has been utterly discredited. The confessor appears to have been altogether a fictitious person, no trace can be found of him. The newspaper that published the confession has failed to produce the name of the writer, and the Editor has made such acknowledgement in his paper and expressed regret for having published an unauthentic letter. All the evidence, therefore, that I have hitherto received goes to show that no volunteer was involved in the affray. My own statement has nothing in it to warrant the inference that the volunteers had actually assaulted Swami Lalnath or any of his party. I had simply said that Swami Lalnath had said that volunteers were involved. But in this belief he was evidently mistaken. No trace was found of the volun-

teer described by him. Since the Ajmer volunteers have come in for a great deal of public criticism, it was necessary to give my own opinion in the matter. The fact, however, that in my opinion no volunteer seems to have committed the assault does not imply that the fast was in any way unnecessary. That the assault was committed is not to be denied, nor can it be denied that those who took part in the affray were of the reformer group. The fact also remains that Shri Ramnarayan Chaudhri forgot to give the necessary instructions and take adequate precautions against the mishap. The fast was, therefore, clearly necessary, and I am thankful to God that He gave me the strength to take and go through it. Those who handle purity movements cannot be too vigilant. The legal maxim has it that 'Law', i.e., God, 'helps the wakeful, never the sleepy.'

AN ENGLISH FRIEND'S WARNING

An English friend sends the following message:

> We, English people, do not understand this fasting of yours. We were hardly able to tolerate your previous fasts. But you will be discredited, if you repeat any more of these.

I know that this warning has been sent out of concern for my reputation. I know the Protestant dislike for fasts. But, inspite of all the wish to stand well with my English friends, I am really helpless in this matter. I am not responsible for these fasts. I do not undertake them for my amusement. I would not torture the flesh for the love of fame. Though I bear joyfully the pangs of hunger and many other physical discomforts of fasting, let no one imagine that I do not suffer. These fasts are bearable only because they are imposed upon me by a higher Power and the capacity to bear the pain also comes from that Power. I can only plead with that Power that He may not put me through any more ordeals of that nature. But if my pleading goes in vain and another fast comes my way, I must take it, even though I may have to risk a wreckage of all the reputation I may possess for sanity and what not. 'For, what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?'

Harijan, 24-8-1934

390. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

August 24, 1934

CHI. MARY,

I was glad to hear from you so soon in reply to my postcard[1]. Jamnalalji is doing exceedingly well. The operation itself was a prolonged affair because it had to do with the bony parts of the ear and there were some tough bones to be chiselled and hammered. But the convalescence has been exceptionally easy. He was allowed to walk yesterday and is almost on normal diet. Even the stitches were taken off. That of course does not mean that the bones where cuts were made were healed. That must take some time, but not so much as the doctors had expected. They say that the operation was successful and very cleverly done.

Mira had a sudden call from within. One fine morning she came to me and said that she felt an irresistible call to go to England. I asked her, "when"; and she said, "as soon as I can pack and go". I did not resist her. On the contrary I encouraged her because I felt that it must do her good and be a rich experience, though she might be able to do nothing. I have confidence that she will not make any serious blunder by talking nonsense. She is too well-balanced to do that. She does not expect to be away for more than four months, but I have written to her not to hurry back and that she should stay longer if it was necessary. Her programme is very elaborate. She is leaving practically no friend unvisited and she is booked to go to Scotland also. She has been sending long letters and she herself is more than satisfied with the way she is being received. I fancy that she will return in October. Is it not strange that the English climate is not suiting her as well as the Indian climate! She told me that she was freezing in Wales! If you want to see a sample of her very long but interesting letters I will gladly send you a specimen.

I hope you are now thoroughly restored. Do you hear from Duncan?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6026. Also C.W. 3355. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

[1] *Vide* p. 314.

391. LETTER TO T. M. ZARIF

August 24, 1934

DEAR TAYEBBHAI,

I have your letter. It is difficult for me to give you a firm opinion. I can conceive circumstances under which a Congressman will be justified in accepting appointment as honorary magistrate. Each case has, therefore, to be judged on its own merits. But I would like to state generally that every Congressman should, in such matters, act according to his conscience. More generally still, if he can avoid accepting honours from Government it is well. It will go hard with any person to justify a departure from a very safe road.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI TAYEBBHAI M. ZARIF
14 SUKEAS LANE
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

392. LETTER TO KSHITISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

August 24, 1934

DEAR KSHITISHBABU[1],

I understand that you have difficulty in reconciling yourself to the Working Committee's resolution[2] on the Communal Award as also to the position[3] I have taken up regarding the Parliamentary Board. You have a right to strive with me when you cannot see eye to eye with me. You must not think of sparing me for the sake of my health. I may not be able to straightaway reply to your letters; but it would hurt me to think that you had formed, without arguing with me, an adverse opinion on any step that I might have taken. You know how I have valued your silent service of the country and your equally silent

[1] Brother of Satis Chandra Das Gupta
[2] *Vide* Appendix I.
[3] *Vide* pp. 258-9.

co-operation. I do not want to forfeit the confidence of valued co-workers like you.[1]

SHRI KSHITISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers Courtesy: Pyarelal

393. LETTER TO BIRENDRA NATH GUHA

August 24, 1934

MY DEAR BIRENDRA,

I was glad to have your letter with a copy of the manifesto. You should continue to send me such information as you may think necessary for me to possess. I doubt not that Kshitish-babu will, in the end, see what to me is the obvious truth.[2]

SHRI BIRENDRA NATH GUHA
VIDYASHRAM
B-76 COLLEGE STREET MARKET
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

394. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 24, 1934

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

Since Kaka has resigned his place on the Board of Trustees of the Vidyapith, all of us have come to the decision that you should be the Chairman of the Board. We have already appointed you to the post. I did not remember what my legal position was in the Vidyapith, so I enquired about it and was told that I had none, but that, morally speaking, they regarded me as its Chancellor and all the teachers had agreed among themselves that I should be permitted to intervene in its affairs whenever I wished to do so. But this is no way of running an organization. You are the only person who can be the legal chairman. I am satisfied with whatever moral position I have and have neither the desire nor the strength to shoulder greater responsibility than that.

[1] *Vide* also the following item.
[2] *Vide* also the preceding item.

Another decision which they have arrived at on my advice and subject to your approval is that Narahari should take over management of the Harijan Ashram and that as many teachers from the Vidyapith as he may need should be made available to him. The expenditure over Narahari and other teachers from the Vidyapith who may be assigned to the Ashram should be met from the Vidyapith funds as long as they last. I am of the view that this burden should not be put on the Harijan Sevak Sangh for the present, in view of the policy of the Sangh that it should pay caste Hindus from its funds in as few cases as possible. The ideal is that 95 per cent of the receipts should go directly into the pockets of Harijans. If we wish to realize it, we should set an example with our own workers. The third decision we have taken—and this also subject to your approval—is that the remaining teachers should, if they agree, spread out in villages for rural reconstruction work and for service in villages, and start work according to the scheme or plan which I have put forward. Narahari will explain it to you. If you do not approve of any item in it, exclude it unhesitatingly. Kakasaheb, Kishorelalbhai, Maganbhai, Soman and Narahari were present when these decisions were taken and they have agreed with them. About Narahari, I have discussed the idea with Thakkar Bapa also. The Harijan Ashram cannot be run on the best lines unless it gets the services of a person like him. I am sure that, if we run it well, we shall advance the cause of Harijans considerably. Only then will the gift of the Satyagraha Ashram have been justified. Though I know, therefore, that we can take many other services from Narahari, I think this is the best use we can make of him at present, and he himself is interested in this work and is fully confident of being able to make a success of it. Please, therefore, let Narahari be sacrificed for the Harijan Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 122-3

395. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 24, 1934

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter and wire. I am not sending a wire in reply to your wire, since I have already written to you yesterday on that very subject.[1] If you have not issued any statement as suggested in that letter, you may state as follows:

> I have read the proceedings of the new party formed by Pandit Malaviyaji and Shri M. S. Aney. I have read telegrams and letters asking me to clarify certain points. In my opinion it is not proper to use the Congress name without the Congress authority. The party may be called the National Party of Congressmen if its composition strictly confirmed to Congressmen. But without the authority of the Congress duly received it cannot with propriety be called the Congress National Party especially when it is formed deliberately to propagate a policy in direct contradiction to that which is the official policy of the Congress. The adoption of the Congress name cannot but confuse the popular mind and I would respectfully urge Panditji to reconsider the position and adopt another name for the party which he had a perfect right to form for the education of Congressmen and others. The other point I should like to emphasize is that no one but the Congress Parliamentary Board can run elections in the name of the Congress. Lastly in the midst of the unfortunate differences between Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Aney and the Working Committee I hope that all Congressmen will loyally support the policy enunciated in the resolution of the Working Committee regarding the Communal Award.[2]

If you wish to make any changes in this, you may do so.

Rajendrababu's letter was rather strange. There can be only one reply to it. The Congress certainly cannot assume responsibility for providing the money and we cannot raise funds

[1] *Vide* p. 352.

[2] This paragraph is in English in the source.

at present through private efforts. That is the responsibility of Bhulabhai and others. Discuss this matter with him.

I will write to Bhulabhai regarding the A. I. C. C.

He wants a meeting of the Working Committee to be called. I, therefore, think that it will be best to call it. You may hold it either in Bombay or Wardha, as you wish. He wants it to be called early in September.

Rajaji will arrive here the day after tomorrow or on Sunday.

Pattabhi and others are here. . . .[1] and others have arrived. They will leave today.

I understand your view regarding Kaka. Jawaharlal has been arrested. There was a wire from Mahadev to that effect. He could see him. He is arriving here tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp 124-6

396. LETTER TO BHULABHAI J. DESAI

August 24, 1934

If you wish to get elected to the All-India Congress Committee, I would advise you to control the desire. You may get elected to it when they all want you there with one voice. You will then be joining it with honour. Even if you are not a member just now, you are as good as one. That is enough for the present and in the prevailing atmosphere.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

397. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

August 24, 1934

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I was glad to have your letter. Your suspicion about that woman seems to me well-founded. I myself saw her spinning in

[1] The name is omitted in the source

the presence of many people. No such *purdah* is observed in the Punjab. You did well in cautioning Jamnaprasad. Write to Shankerlal. I think he also is vigilant.

I have written to Balram. I am all right. Ask Surendra to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 372. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

398. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD[1]

[On or before *August 25, 1934*]

GRIEVED OVER FLOODS. YOU WILL USE EARTHQUAKE FUNDS FOR RELIEF. HOPE FLOODS SUBSIDING.

The Searchlight, 29-8-1934

399. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

August 25, 1934

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

Yes, I have recovered from the effects of the fast in the sense that there is no untoward consequence. I am steadily but slowly regaining strength.

I have no desire to have a meeting of the Working Committee. But, if it is needed by the Parliamentary Board, I have no doubt that Sardar Vallabhbhai will call it. But have you need for it? I have a telegram from Maulana Saheb and Sardar Sardul Singh who evidently desire a meeting of the Working Committee at the same time as the Parliamentary Board meeting. If such is also your feeling, then of course the Working Committee must meet. I am loath to be dragged to Bombay just now. Jamnalalji from his sick-bed has been warning me not to leave Wardha before I have reached 110 lb. I am now 98 lb. and I am gaining at the rate of less than ½ lb. a day. Supposing that I keep up that pace,

[1] The telegram was in reply to the addressee's published under the date-line, "Patna, August 25", 1934, which read: "Simultaneous flood in the Ganges and the Sone causing rush of water between Chapra and Arrah. . . . Great loss of human life and cattle apprehended. . . . Trying to organize relief but realize human helplessness in the face of tremendous onrush of water."

it would not be before the 20th September that I can leave Wardha. But of course Jamnalalji is exacting and he can be overruled if both the meetings must take place in Bombay, and that in the early part of September and if my presence is a necessity. All these things I leave to you to decide and then move Sardar Vallabhbhai accordingly.

Of course the appropriation of the name 'Congress' by Panditji's party is a bad job. No one can act in the name of the Congress without due authority. I believe Sardar Vallabhbhai would be issuing a statement[1] in the matter. You must have seen the brief statement[2] that I have issued.

I hope you do not want the Working Committee to lay down the procedure at the present stage to be followed by Congressmen in the Assembly. If an amendment of the character you describe is brought before the meeting just now I think it would be better not to say anything. But the Parliamentary Board is the best judge to decide as to what is necessary. But should an amendment be moved, you have correctly interpreted my own opinion as to the clear duty of Congress members. They must vote against a resolution or amendment accepting the Award. And since they cannot vote for rejection, naturally they must abstain from voting in regard to a resolution or amendment rejecting the Award.

I am glad that so many districts had undisputed elections. I wish the rest of the districts would follow the good example set by the overwhelming majority of the districts. But if a fight is inevitable, I think that the decisions of Mr. Aney should be loyally followed.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

400. LETTER TO MANGHARAM SANTDAS

August 25, 1934

MY DEAR SANTDAS,

I have read your little note to Jairamdas at the back of Will Hayes' letter. Though I have not been able to write to you I

[1] *Vide* p. 362.
[2] *Vide* pp. 346-7.

have been closely following the course that Kamlani's[1] derangement is taking. I have no doubt that he will be himself again, and when he does regain his balance, subject to your approval, I would ask him, if it is only for a time, to come back to India before he resumes his work. Life in England, especially for a man with a tender conscience like Kamlani, is a very difficult job. I hope you are not worrying. After all Kamlani and all of us are in God's hands. We can but work and pray.

SHRI M. SANTDAS
HYDERABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

401. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

August 25, 1934

CHI. NARAHARI,

Since Kakasaheb has resigned from the Board of Trustees of the Vidyapith, the question arises as to what should be done regarding the village improvement scheme of Shri Nagindas Amulakhrai. As desired by Shri Nagindas, I had appointed a committee to implement the scheme. On thinking about it, I now feel that the committee should be made completely independent of the Vidyapith, and that Sardar Vallabhbhai should be appointed its President and Raojibhai its Secretary. The latter should be appointed for one year.

Kakasaheb has rightly deposited the money of the Nagindas Trust with Jamnalalji. After the latter is all right, we may, if necessary, make some other arrangement. I have another fund also under my control. Kakasaheb has deposited that amount, too, with Jamnalalji. For the convenience of keeping accounts and from other points of view I think it would be desirable to amalgamate this amount with the Nagindas Trust money.

The late Punjabhai had donated an ear-marked sum and, on my advice, entrusted the Vidyapith with the responsibility of editing and publishing Jain literature through a committee. I have a moral responsibility in this matter too. In view of the present circumstances, I would suggest that that work also should be carried on independently of the control of the Vidyapith. I suggest the following names as Trustees of such an independent body:

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", p. 299.

1. Narahari Parikh
2. Valji Desai
3. Ramniklal Modi
4. Maganbhai Desai
5. Nilkanth Mashruwala
6. Gopaldas Patel

If, besides these, we can get a learned and pious Jain, I think it would be desirable to invite him also to become one of the Trustees. We shall have to look out for such a person. If you can think of any name, please let me know.

In this programme, so far we have paid attention to publication of material from the original sources of the *Agamas* together with a translation. If, instead, we make selections from this vast field of literature which might be useful to the people, or get such selections made, and publish them, I think the late Punjabhai's object would be better fulfilled.

It was always Punjabhai's wish that Shri Rajchandra's birth anniversary should be fittingly celebrated. We should assume the responsibility for this. But whereas in Punjabhai's time people were content with holding meetings on the anniversary day, I think it would do greater credit to the committee and give greater peace to the soul of Shrimad if some constructive work could be done on that day. The committee should consider whether this should be done by publishing some literature or arranging a lecture on the anniversary day or in some other manner. The anniversary falls on the next *Kartik Purnima*. We should, therefore, think and decide in time how it should be celebrated on this occasion.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S N. 9063

402. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 25, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You must have received my letter[1] of yesterday. Mathurababu[2] brought your letter today. It was good that he came. I have sent an emphatic message with him to the effect that they should fight the elections only if the Parliamentary Board provides the money, otherwise they should abandon the idea. They should expect no help from you or me. Of course, if they have the

[1] *Vide* pp. 362-3.
[2] Mathuraprasad, Rajendrababu's co-worker in Bihar

courage to fight without spending money they should certainly do so. If, however, that is not possible, they should think twice before deciding to fight. If it is possible anywhere in the country to fight elections without money and solely on the prestige of the Congress, it is in Bihar. However, this problem is outside my sphere. I haven't the slightest idea how elections are fought. If indeed they can be fought without money or with very little money solely in the name of the Congress, there can be nothing more creditable than that.

I have a wire from Bhulabhai saying that he is coming today between 3 and 4. Mahadev is arriving in the evening.

Did I write to you that I had received three wires regarding the Working Committee? I have merely wired back in reply that they should ask you about it.

It will not matter if you find it impossible to come. We shall meet through letters and be satisfied with that. I will keep you informed about anything new which I come to know about.

Mirabehn seems to be doing good work. Probably it will bear no result just now, but her trip [to England] will not have been in vain. If you have not been getting letters regarding such matters, I will arrange, after Mahadev's return, that they are forwarded to you. Muriel met Lloyd George. She talked with him for hours. Thus these few friends have been doing the best they can. Mirabai and Agatha have clashed with each other a bit. Partly Mirabai's impatience and partly her suspicious nature were responsible for this. Mahadev or Pyarelal will give you the details of the incident.

You do not seem to have fully regained your strength. Bhulabhai has arrived. Call the meeting in Bombay. That will drag me there. Bhulabhai will be able to manage the A. I. C. C.

Blessings from

BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
89 WARDEN ROAD, BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 127-8

403. LETTER TO UMADEVI BAJAJ

August 25, 1934

CHI. OM,

I have your letters. Your handwriting is all right though it is not as good as I should like it to be. Does Kisan meet you often?

Every day you can find many things to write about. Haven't I suggested them? Who visits there? What food is given to you? How much sleep do you get? If it is not enough, are you able to carry on your work? You can certainly write about all this. If you read the *Ramayana* daily, you can also write which [chapter] you are reading.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 337-8

404. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

August 25, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I see that your progress is quite fast. The sick are always cared for like kings. That is the pleasant side of being ill. When, however, the poor have the misfortune to fall ill, they do not get this pleasure.

A letter for Dr. Shah is enclosed. There is also one for Om.

Everything seems to be going on well here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 132

405. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

August 25, 1934

CHI. MANI,

I read the couple of lines in your hand. You are perfectly right in not writing to me at present. Take good care of your health and get completely all right. When necessary, do write to me at length. You need not now be very anxious to spare me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p 117

406. LETTER TO G. R. SAHGAL

August 26, 1934

MY DEAR SAHGAL,

I was glad to receive your very prompt letter giving me all the information I wanted except one. I wonder if with all your attainments it would be proper for you, with wife and children, to give your services to a Harijan institution for Rs. 150. And it is not so much the small maintenance that you require as the fact that I cannot provide, perhaps for some years, the scope that your abilities would need. I have not in mind the bringing into being of a mighty Harijan institution. It would be a small affair with big promise in a somewhat distant future. Will you be content to allow your abilities to lie fallow? You will just tell me what is the urge. And is your wife in hearty co-operation with you in coming down from Rs. 750 per month to Rs. 150, when I suppose even now you could command, if not Rs. 750 per month, something very near it?

Yours sincerely,

SHRI G. R. SAHGAL
C/O GURUKULA
SUPA, *via* NAVSARI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

407. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

August 26/27, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Mahadev must have replied to your letter. Raja arrived suddenly today and was in a great hurry to return. Since I spent a good deal of time with him I am late with the post. Aney also came and saw me. All that I can say about him is that he brought a message of love from Malaviyaji and asked me if I had any reply to give. I told him that if they cared for propriety they should put up their candidates after consulting us and should not put up anybody simply to fight the Congress. He left soon, as he had to catch the train for Nagpur, and said that he would come again. The new Party has confused the situation, but apart from that I don't think it will be able to do much harm.

Bhulabhai came. I had a wire from the Maulana. He will have no objection to the meeting being held in Wardha. He can easily be accommodated here. He says he will not mind if he cannot stay in a hotel. I don't think he will stop for more than two days. To me, Wardha would certainly be more convenient. There will of course be some burden on Radhakisan, but he has kept everything ready. Recently Jamnalalji has added to the buildings. Hence there is sufficient accommodation. I have been assured that all the arrangements are perfect. Jamnalalji's invisible presence has been working behind all this, of course.

Bhulabhai will take care of all the necessary arrangements in consultation with you. You may now do what is most convenient to you. If you fix the meeting here, one advantage at any rate will be that we shall be able to meet.

I have been discussing with Rajaji my intention of leaving the Congress. He has come specially to discuss that. If possible, he wants to run away on Tuesday.

Ramdas is returning from Khurja on Monday. It is because of the cholera there. I shall know more when he comes.

I hope you are recovering your strength.

Mahadev has written to you everything about Jawaharlal. It was very good indeed that he went. Jawaharlal felt much comforted. Moreover, the old lady and Kamala were very happy.

I have dashed this off in great haste immediately on entering my silence after the evening prayer. If anything is left out, I will supply it tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Morning, August 27, 1934

I have recollected one thing. It is not necessary for me now to write to Ballubhai[1] or anybody else about the matter concerning the Municipality. I should write to you only. Even if you decide to take back the books belonging to the Vidyapith, there must be books worth thirty to fifty thousand belonging to the Ashram, maybe a little less or a little more. These books are lying unused. If they employ a librarian, the books can be catalogued on scientific lines, rules for lending them can be framed and they may then be loaned according to those rules. I very much desire that something should be done.[2]

Andrews and Jones[3] have arrived. I got your letter. Bhulabhai will be seeing you tomorrow. You may certainly have the meeting at Wardha. As regards Mahadev, see him when you come over. Andrews and Raja are here.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 128-30

408. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

August 27, 1934

BHAI BAPA,

I got your letter regarding Amalabehn. The Sangh needn't have incurred that expenditure. But I don't write this by way of criticism. Compassion is a wonderful thing. On the one hand, a trust, and, on the other, compassion. Who can solve this conflict? But the expenditure ought not to be borne by the Sangh. I, therefore, assume responsibility for that bill and for the ten rupees spent from Parikshitlal's pocket. I will lay my hand on some other appropriate fund. Please forget about that bill. I will

[1] Balwantrai Thakore, President of Ahmedabad Municipality
[2] *Vide* also pp. 265-6.
[3] Stanley Jones

send from here a *hundi* or money order to Parikshitlal in a day or two.

I have asked Prithuraj to write to you and give you plenty of other news. Somebody has given me a *hundi* to be spent as I like. Prithuraj is sending it to you to be spent by you in the manner I have suggested.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1140; also S.N 22755

409. LETTER TO CHANDULAL MODI

August 27, 1934

BHAI CHANDULAL,

I got your letter. Tell Ramniklal that I have become impatient to see him. Ask him to see me soon. But what would it matter even if we can't meet? After all, everything that we wish doesn't happen. I do get news about you through Tara. I am glad that you keep cheerful. That is what one ought to do. I am regaining strength and weight. I was 94 immediately after the fast. Today it was 100. This gain in 14 days is not bad.

During the fast, I also used to drink boiled water after it had been cooled. The difference between boiled and unboiled does not trouble me. I cannot tolerate water itself. Do you eat oranges during the fast? Write to me about any other symptom that may appear.[1]

Let me know as soon as you have met Ramniklal. Most probably he will be released before his time. I am trying. But we can try only in a manner befitting us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4181. Also C.W 1680. Courtesy: Ramniklal Modi

[1] *Vide* also pp 355-6.

410. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

August 27, 1934

CHI. SUSHILA AND MANILAL,

Since Manilal has not written to me but Sushila has, should her name not be put first?

I am awaiting your reply regarding a permit for Ramdas.[1] Medh has sent nothing as yet to Uncle[2]. If he does mean to send it, why doesn't he send it directly to Uncle, or to me?

I think I have already written to you about saving at least Rs. 5 and sending it to me for Uncle. I have requested this contribution for repaying the sum that I have got paid to him. I would be glad if he is not given even that much as a gift. I don't think he himself will be able to repay the sum. If you two and Devdas pay every month, you will feel no burden and the sum which I have borrowed from Jamnalalji can be repaid. You should try and do this much.

Andrews has returned. We talked a great deal specially about you. He has been very much disappointed. He complains that Manilal has been writing articles about the Agent which are full of anger and contempt. He doesn't say that there should be no criticism of the Agent, but that it should be kept within proper limits. I myself cannot read *Indian Opinion* these days. I rarely see any newspapers. I therefore don't know. If however you have been writing anything in anger or with contempt, you should change that. You should realize that your responsibility is great. Since I have not read anything, I am not writing this by way of criticism. I am only letting you know the impression that Andrews has formed.

Who is the Swami from Bengal who takes so much of Manilal's time?

Ramdas is coming here tomorrow as cholera is raging in Khurja.

Kishorelal and Gomati are here at present. The former's health cannot be described as too good.

Devdas is all right, more or less. Lakshmi has always been delicate. Her daughter is doing fine. Andrews was full of praises of Govind alias Arun.

[1] *Vide* p. 200.

[2] Madhavdas Kapadia, Kasturba's brother

I have regained sufficient strength. But I have still to take some rest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4825. Also C.W. 1237. Courtesy. Sushila Gandhi

411. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

August 27, 1934

CHI. BRIJKISAN,

I have your two letters.

I can understand your predicament. Everything will turn out all right if one remains patient. As long as I can I shall certainly point out your duty. But I am inclined these days not to order anyone, only to offer advice when solicited.

As you permit, I shall see Damodardas and shall then write to Keshu. I shall ask Damodardas to come over here.

For the time being I am not going to move from here.

Stay on at Mussoorie as long as necessary and come down after making yourself fit, physically as well as mentally.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G N. 2421

412. EXTRACT FROM A LETTER[1]

[Before *August 28, 1934*]

That Mahatma Gandhi will not go to jail at least till the Bombay Congress session is over, is indicated by a letter which he has written in reply to the Congress Reception Committee's query as to where he would like to stay during the forthcoming Congress session Mahatma Gandhi has stated in his reply that he would like to stay in Congress Nagar together with the incoming and outgoing Presidents.

The Hindustan Times, 29-8-1934

[1] This appeared under the date-line, "Bombay, August 28", 1934, as reported by Associated Press of India.

413. LETTER TO BALIBEHN M. ADALAJA

August 29, 1934

CHI. BALI,

I got your letter. I was pleased. I also believe what you say about Harilal. I had a letter from him written from Porbandar. I heard from him nearly after a year. I have of course cautioned him. I am glad that Manu has shed her fear. How can we cure her irritability?

Your health seems to have gone down badly. Kusum's also is none too good. But since both of you sisters know the sacredness of service, you will not fail in it.

All are well here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1531. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

414. LETTER TO UMADEVI BAJAJ

August 29, 1934

CHI. OM,

You are an intelligent girl. It seems you write very good Marwari. There is not much difference between Marwari and Gujarati. Some even say that Gujarati is descended from Marwari and has developed so well that now it excels the latter. Isn't that why you look upon me as your adopted father? Madalasa is standing by as I write this and tells me that your Marwari is not very good. But one judges another according to the measure of his or her own ability. Besides, since when has little Madalasi become a teacher of Marwari or an examiner in it? And so you pass in Marwari!

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 338

415. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

August 30, 1934

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I understand that dispensation from adherence to the Working Committee resolution on the Communal Award is being given to Bengal Congress candidates on the ground of conscientious scruples. Can that be so? If it is, I think we have not got the power to give the dispensation. You would have seen my statement[1] to the Press regarding that. I said that such was the offer made and it was rejected; but that if Malaviyaji was disposed to accept it, the Working Committee would probably make the offer again. But until the dispensation becomes part of the Working Committee resolution no one can grant it. And it cannot be granted even by the Working Committee if the Nationalist Party continues to function. Those, therefore, who want dispensation have simply to belong to the Nationalist Party.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

416. LETTER TO HARIBHAU PHATAK

August 30, 1934

MY DEAR HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. My position on the cow is not that the cow might be superior to the buffalo in giving milk. If cow-protection is part of Hinduism, then we must abjure buffalo milk even if it is superior to cow's milk. Such is the conception of religion. You cannot apply to it the bare rule of utility. If we would prefer buffalo milk, then by and by the buffalo would become the object of worship and the cow would disappear, as she is fast disappearing. Having said this, I can say

[1] *Vide* pp. 346-7.

that all the information that I possess goes to show that, all things considered, cow's milk is superior to buffalo milk. But it is a question which does not much interest me, because I am sure that it would be possible to obtain medical testimony in favour of the superiority of the cow's milk over buffalo milk and *vice versa*. Therefore, in matters of this character, the safest thing is to steer clear of expert opinion. If we worship the cow, we must give her preference over all, irrespective of the quality of the different milk that different animals may give.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SHRI HARIBHAU PHATAK
SADASIV PETH, POONA

From a photostat. G.N. 1372

417. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 30, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. How can you afford to lose heart? One who becomes a vaid has to talk and listen daily about diseases. It was good that I sent you . . . 's[1] original letter. Your letter throws new light on the matter altogether. In such circumstances, you should, in the first place, acquaint me with all the facts and, secondly, do only what seems right to you. You should follow my advice only if it appeals to your reason, or when I ask you to follow my instructions even if they do not appeal to your reason. In this case, I hastily expressed my opinion on the basis of . . . 's one-sided letter. You should act upon it only if you also are convinced. But, on the contrary, you repudiate all her allegations. That being so, there is no question of your acting upon my suggestions. First you should discuss . . .'s charges in detail and show that they are unjustified, and afterwards you should tell her firmly what you think regarding money. Personally, I am willing, on the basis of your letter, to write to her and reprimand her. But I am not writing for fear that my doing so might be misunderstood.

I understand what you say concerning the dairy. We shall separate it. Whom do you suggest for its trustees? I think we had thought of some names, but I have forgotten them.

[1] The name has been omitted.

Please, therefore, send your suggestions. Ramdas and Dr. Sharma have returned here. They will not have to go back to Khurja, for the house in which they lived had to be vacated and, moreover, there is nothing special in that place.

This place is fairly crowded just now. Andrews and Ghanshyamdas are still here. Sardar and Jairamdas are arriving today. Others keep coming and going.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M M.U./II. Also C W 8411 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

418. LETTER TO VIMALA JOSHI

August 30, 1934

CHI. VIMU,

Why do you write with a pencil? Write with ink and make each letter as beautiful as a carefully drawn picture. Surely you can be in no hurry to finish your letter. It is good that all of you have settled down there for the present.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 302

419. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

August 30, 1934

CHI. MANUDI,

I did get your letter. Are you not attending Sushilabehn's school now? I am content with what you are able to study. I am very glad indeed that you have shed fear of Bhai. Take care of your health. Overcome anger, serve aunt and live happily. Ramdas is here now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C W. 1533. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

420. A LETTER

August 30, 1934

CHI. . . .[1],

Maganbhai gave me your message. If you ever had such a thought, you have broken your vow that you would inform me right from the beginning and perhaps your relations with . . .[2] can be considered improper. Yet if both of you are still willing and if the elders bestow their blessings on you both, you will surely have my blessings too. But give up your obstinacy of waiting for five years. I like it. But if you get engaged you both will feel tempted. Understand that it is the worst thing. So if you wish to have any engagement, then get married now, that is as soon as . . . is released.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati G.N. 4070. Also C.W. 21. Courtesy. Shantabehn Patel

421. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

August 30, 1934

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Here is a letter received from Damodardas. This reveals something altogether different. Now let me know precisely the remarks made to you by Damodardas. I have written to him to come to Wardha if he can. My going to Bombay is most uncertain. I will not be going in September at any rate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2422

[1]&[2] The names have been omitted.

422. THAT ILL-FATED MEASURE

The ill-fated Temple-entry Bill deserved a more decent burial, if it deserved it at all, than it received at the hands of the mover of the Bill. It was not a Bill promoted by an individual for his personal satisfaction. It was a Bill promoted by, and on behalf of, the reformers. The mover should, therefore, have consulted reformers and acted under instructions from them. So far as I am aware, there was hardly any occasion for the anger into which he allowed himself to be betrayed or the displeasure which he expressed towards Congressmen. On the face of it, it was, and was designed to be, a measure pertaining to religion, framed in pursuance of the solemn declaration[1] publicly made in Bombay at a meeting of representative Hindus who met under the chairmanship of Pandit Malaviyaji on 25th September, 1932. The curious may read the declaration printed almost every week on the front page of *Harijan*. Therefore, every Hindu, caste or Harijan, was interested in the measure. It was not a measure in which Congress Hindus were more interested than the other Hindus. To have, therefore, dragged the Congress name into the discussion was unfortunate. The Bill deserved a gentler handling.

Having not a moment to spare myself during the exacting and swift Harijan tour, I had asked Shri Rajagopalachari, in pursuance of the pledge given by me at public meetings and to sanatanist friends in private and in these columns, to ascertain informally (as it could only be done informally) the views of the Hindu members of the Assembly, as, I thought, if it was discovered that the majority was opposed to it, steps should be taken to have the Bill withdrawn. This was the very simple issue on which the Bill could either have been dropped or proceeded with. Both the sanatanists and the reformers would have understood the position. Its fate ought not to have been decided on a side issue. If C. Rajagopalachari or I had committed a mistake, we should have been made to pay for it. But the Bill was above persons. Right or wrong, it enunciated a great principle and, therefore, deserved a more decent treatment than it received.

As for the part played by the Government, this journal's policy is to avoid as much as possible criticism of the Govern-

[1] *Vide* Vol. LI, p. 139.

ment. But I should like to say that, with the material before it, the Government could only have taken the course it did. But the public should know that on behalf of the reformers there was not only no attempt made to canvass public opinion but a decision was deliberately arrived at that no attempt should be made to obtain signatures of the public in general in favour of the Bill, it being left open to expert bodies to send representations if they chose. This was duly announced in these pages. My co-workers and I came to the conclusion that the questions underlying the circulation were too technical for the public to decide. Thus, the question was not whether Harijans should or should not enter public Hindu temples precisely on the same terms as the others. The question was whether there should be any legislation in the matter and, if there should be, whether the Bill was good on its merits. In my opinion, both these questions were too technical to be put before the public. Surely, it is not impossible to conceive occasions when legislative help or interference is indispensable even in matters of religion. As a matter of fact, there are many cases of such legislation. But it was difficult to get an intelligent vote from the public. Then, on the merits, it was equally difficult to show to the public that the Bill was purely of a permissive nature and that no temple could be opened without the consent of the majority of the temple-going public. Such public education is not impossible under congenial circumstances. But it is well-nigh impossible when party feeling runs high and truth is at a discount.

The temple-entry battle has to continue. The promise made to Harijans must be redeemed and the temples have to be flung open. If they can be, without legislative sanction, no one would be more glad than the reformers. Not that they want a single temple to be opened where the majority of *savarna* Hindus who are in the habit of using them are opposed. Law's assistance is invoked because lawyers opine that the law prevents such opening even where an overwhelming majority of temple-goers are agreeable. If such is the case, the permissive legislation is peremptory. Law alone can undo what law has done, whether it is judge-made or statutory or customary. But reformers will wait till such time as the passing of legislation becomes irresistible. But waiting is only for the wakeful. The hasty withdrawal of the Bill teaches its own lesson. There is no cause for disappointment. Redoubled effort is required. It is not necessary to know or prove that Harijans want temple-entry. Removal of the sin is necessary for the satisfaction of the *savarna* Hindus who have

realized that untouchability is a canker eating into the vitals of Hinduism, which, if not removed in time, must kill Hinduism.

M. K. GANDHI

Harijan, 31-8-1934

423. LETTER TO P. N. RAJBHOJ

August 31, 1934

MY DEAR RAJBHOJ,

Your letter of 25th August astonished me, for you have now taken up a position in connection with the work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh which is contrary to what you had taken up some time ago and in your correspondence and conversations with me. It may be that experience has altered your view. If such is the case, I have nothing to say except that you have based your criticism on insufficient data.

You know that I have repeatedly expressed my opinion that Harijan Sevak Sangh is an organization of penitents. Therefore it cannot be predominantly manned by Harijans. It has got to do the repentance in the manner that the penitent *savarnas* may consider to be the most suitable. If it does not appeal to the Harijans, it would be no doubt unfortunate. Then the penitents must try again. But they have got to learn the art of repentance from bitter experience.

As I have said to you personally so often, and you seemed also to agree, the better and more effective method of influencing the policy of Harijan Sevak Sanghs would be for local Harijans to form representative Advisory Boards to study sympathetically the activities of the local Sanghs, and then advise them, criticize them and make concrete suggestions. If such Advisory Boards are formed everywhere, the work done by the Harijan Boards will be naturally much more effective than it is today. But even as it is, the Boards have nothing to be ashamed of. If you will follow the columns of *Harijan* from week to week, you will surely be astonished at the way the money all over India is being distributed among Harijans. It can be shown from records that many institutions managed by Harijans are being substantially supported from funds collected by Harijan Boards. You will find also, if you study the figures, that the extent of distribution of funds directly among Harijans and Harijan institutions is progressively increasing. Extraordinary precautions are being taken to ensure the impartial distribution of funds.

You are altogether wrong in thinking that accounts of distributions are not published. Reports by provincial branches are published from time to time. They are available for inspection by the public and you can test the accuracy of my statement by turning over the columns of *Harijan* and even by application to local offices for copies of their reports. I am asking Thakkar Bapa to let me have a consolidated account for publication in *Harijan*, and you will be yourself astonished at the amounts spent for Harijan institutions and students all over India.

As to temple-entry, you will find that practically nothing has been spent either on opening of temples or on the building of new temples, and throughout the nine months' tour, the reports of my speeches in the columns of *Harijan* will show you conclusively that the temple-entry question occupies the least part of them. The Harijan Sevak Sanghs have concentrated on some of the very things that you mention. If they have not tackled all the items, it is not for want of will but for want of capacity to overtake all the items at once.

Your attack upon the Maharashtra Harijan Board comes with ill grace. An out-and-out supporter of the Harijan cause, namely, Mr. Devdhar, is the President of the Provincial Board. He began this long before the Harijan Board came into existence, and probably before the birth of many of us. So far as I am aware, he has never been accused of lukewarmness over this reform. If you have any specific complaints against the local Board, don't you think that your first duty is to send those complaints to the local Board, and if you do not get relief or satisfaction, to take your appeal to the Central Board? And then if you find that your complaint has gone unheeded, you will be justified in exposing the respective Boards in the public. As it is, you have nothing but a vague allegation against the Maharashtra Board which, in my opinion, has deserved a better treatment.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI P. N. RAJBHOJ
207 GHORPADE PETH, POONA 2

From a photostat: G.N. 786; also *Harijan*, 7-9-1934

424. LETTER TO SITARAMA SASTRY

August 31, 1934

DEAR SITARAMA SASTRY,

I have your letter. Although the matter you mention escaped you, there is nothing new in it. We had the large sum spent on Andhra because Andhra had given its due share during the khadi tour. But that does not entitle Andhra to appropriate the sum for use at will. The sum was given to the All-India Spinners' Association just as Harijan Funds have been given to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. These funds have to be largely used in the province where they were collected. But they are used under instructions of the central organization. Therefore so far as the security is concerned, it has got to be obviously on the same footing for both the funds. And under the proposed autonomy you will be keeping the equivalent of both the funds in the shape of khadi and furniture. If you issue debentures and offer them as security, that is totally a different proposition. If that kind of security appeals to the Association naturally it will be accepted. I have not visualized the debentures sufficiently to pronounce any opinion upon merits. I hope this is perfectly clear.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI SITARAMA SASTRY
VINAYA ASHRAM
CHANDOL (GUNTUR DT.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

425. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

August 31, 1934

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

You know that Ramdas has become weak. He feels happy in Surendra's company. He wants to try the treatment of Dr. Sharma who employs nature-cure remedies. Because he is weak, Ba wants to stay with him. Hence Ramdas, Ba and Dr. Sharma will leave this place and go there. Take them in some conveyance

from Sabarmati and lodge them in any building that may be vacant. You should charge rent at the rate that has been fixed. They will not require any other attention. You will have no bedsteads there, of course. Beg one for Ramdas from Budhabhai. They will probably get the necessary provisions there. The expenses will be sent from here. If Ramdas stays there for any length of time, the doctor's wife and his two sons will come there. If you encounter any difficulty, let me know. Ba will cook. They will require one servant. If you can find one, do so. Show this letter to Bhai Narahari.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4043

426. *TERRIBLE OPPRESSION*

I have been receiving reports from several quarters about the oppression of the Harijans in the area surrounding Talaja. Even after assuming an element of exaggeration in them and making allowance for it, what remains is shocking enough. It is difficult to understand how man can be so cruel.

The tragedy of it is that the Harijans were quite innocent. Because there was an epidemic of the plague among cattle and they died, it was supposed that this was the doing of the Harijans. And so the latter were harassed and beaten almost to death, and in some cases actually to death, with the result that, to escape this oppression they left their homes and belongings and took shelter in Talaja.

It is all the more distressing that such things should happen in a model State like Bhavnagar. I do not say this in order to blame the State. I see from the letters and telegrams I have received that the officials are alert, and I hope that these cruel happenings will be fully investigated, the innocent Harijans will get justice and be resettled in their homes, and the guilty will be forced to compensate the Harijans who have been injured and make good the losses of those whose belongings have been destroyed, and steps will be taken to ensure that such things do not happen again.

What is specially lamentable is the fact that even in a progressive State the people are stony-hearted towards the Harijans, treat them as less than animals and do not hesitate to beat them up half-dead or dead and do not even fear being punished with

hanging or rigorous imprisonment. Many people seem to argue that they need fear authority or God in beating or killing a Harijan no more than they need to do so in beating or killing cats and dogs, and their reasoning is not completely unjustified either.

The help that the Government or State can give in such matters is not much. It can punish the guilty after the event and force the guilty village to pay compensation. But where a strong public opinion has not been cultivated against such things, the State cannot produce big results. At the root of the Talaja atrocities are utter ignorance and superstition. It is the duty of Harijan workers to dispel this darkness. They should explain to the people that epidemics of the plague are known to occur occasionally in all countries of the world, and that outside India nobody is suspected when such an epidemic occurs. The people in those countries merely regard it as a natural calamity, employ blameless remedies for eradicating the plague and give medicines to the cattle. This should be done vigorously and ceaselessly in villages sunk in ignorance.

In this connection I have received a heart-rending letter from a Harijan. Since it is worth reading by every caste Hindu, I reproduce below its important part:[1]

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 2-9-1934

427. MODEST ATONEMENT

The author of this letter has given his name and address. I do not give them lest doing so might detract from the worth of his silent service. The fact that such service is being done in isolated places all over the country serves partially as an antidote against the painful reports regarding Talaja.[2] It is only through such service that untouchability can be eradicated.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 2-9-1934

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent, who was serving Harijans in as many ways as he could as atonement for the cruel treatment of them by caste Hindus, had described the cruel lot of Harijans in Saurashtra and appealed to Gandhiji to save them.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

428. LETTER TO SAHEBJI MAHARAJ

September 2, 1934

DEAR SAHEBJI MAHARAJ,

It was indeed an agreeable surprise to me to hear from you. But I am afraid that I must not accept your congratulations. I have no talent for reproducing Dayalbagh[1] in the different provinces of India. My reference was to the loan of the excellent men you have sent to Karachi, who are conducting in a methodical manner the Industrial Institute founded by the Mohatta Brothers. Yours is a huge enterprise. I know my limitations. My experience may be extensive in some directions; but I do claim very little experience in the direction in which you have built up Dayalbagh. Nor have I unlimited resources. However, I do expect, when I am ready, to fall back upon you for trained men, to assist the Harijan Sevak Sangh in establishing industrial homes for Harijans. Necessarily therefore they have got to be unambitious.

I am glad you have put up a tannery. Will your expert give me a brief article describing the method of tanning so that an intelligent reader may be able to make his own experiments in tanning? Does your tanning include the treatment of carcasses, flaying them and separating the skin from the bone and the flesh? And if it is, what is being done with the bones, blood, the flesh, the entrails, etc.? For me, tanning has a most important bearing upon the tremendous question of cattle preservation, consistently with the Hindu belief in the sanctity of the cow. And do you take any leather, or do you confine yourself only to leather of dead cattle as distinguished from slaughtered?

Do I infer from your kind offer to include Dayalbagh in the list of Harijan colonies, that the Harijan Sevak Sangh may send Harijan boys to be trained there in the several departments? And if the Sangh may, on what terms?

Mirabehn will be delighted, as I am, to learn that you have succeeded in producing iridium-tipped gold nibs which are ele-

[1] A settlement of the Radhaswami sect founded over a century ago near Agra Covering over 500 acres of land, it was under the personal supervision of Sahebji Maharaj, who was the fifth head of the sect. *Vide* also Vol. XLI, pp. 427-8.

en-twelfth swadeshi. I shall inform Mirabehn of the good news you have given.

I thank you for your kind inquiry about my health. I am making as good progress as can be expected after the fast.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SAHEBJI MAHARAJ
SHRI ANAND SARUP, DAYALBAGH, AGRA

From a photostat: G N. 2159

429. *LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR*

September 2, 1934

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I had just a reminder[1] from Hariji that at Chheoki where he met us, I had approved of his suggestion that the 25% of the U. P. collections should also be sent to the U. P. Board. That is to say, the whole of the collections should be spent by the U. P. Board, naturally subject to the approval of the scheme or schemes that might be submitted by the Board.

SJT. A. V. THAKKAR
DELHI

From a copy. Pyarelal Papers Courtesy: Pyarelal

430. *LETTER TO H. N. KUNZRU*

September 2, 1934

DEAR HARIJI,

I do remember our conversation at Chheoki and I remember also that I entirely approved of your suggestion. But the matter was forgotten entirely, and had it not been for your reminder, I would not have written to Thakkar Bapa. I am now writing[2] to him.

Yours sincerely,

PT. HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU
ALLAHABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* the following item
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

431. LETTER TO BIRENDRA NATH GUHA

September 2, 1934

DEAR BIREN,

I am glad to know that Kshitishbabu has become softened a bit. I wonder if he got my letter.[1]

I was sorry to learn that Dr. Indra Narayan Sen has been lost to us. Let us hope that he has been lost to us only for some time to come.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

432. LETTER TO UMADEVI BAJAJ

September 2, 1934

CHI. PANDITA OM,

You have given excellent advice in your last letter. But do you yourself do what you advise? If I did not take sufficient rest and proper care of my health, would I be gaining weight at the rate of half a pound a day? If you were to compare how I work now with how you saw me working, you would think I was a lazy man or an incurable sleeper. Isn't it better that you are there and taking walks or idling away your time in the Hanging Garden, and, in return for this freedom, doing some nursing for Father? Do you know the story of the Hanging Garden? I believe that it is not a place where poor people like us can enjoy a walk. Only fashionable people go there. When you go there next time, observe and let me know how many poor people you saw. I went there once or twice and had enough of it.

I don't mind your displaying your knowledge before me. An adopted father cannot expect better treatment. But I hope you have not alarmed Father there.

You have made a mistake. You have stated that Father's weight is 104. I shall probably overtake that in four days. Are

[1] *Vide* p. 360.

you sure you don't mean 204? Do you read the *Ramayana* regularly?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 338-9

433. LETTER TO DRAUPADI SHARMA

September 2, 1934

CHI. DRAUPADI,

You must give up this fear of me. I said nothing to scare you, I simply pointed out the parental duty. Nevertheless forget all that now. Write to me without any fear.

Now, news from this end: Sharma, Ramdas, Kanu and Ba left for Sabarmati today. It is all for the best. The account as given to me is still maintained. How have you managed to charm Ramdas? You had already charmed Amtussalaam? Tell me how you do it!

If you are to be called to Sabarmati it will only be after ten or twenty-four days[1] but it will be automatically dropped if Ramdas leaves for South Africa. But in case he does not go you will have to go over to Sabarmati. I say ten or twenty-four days because of the fortnightly shipping service from South Africa. One boat is to reach on Saturday. If no news comes by that mail it is bound to come after fourteen days. And if that too brings no news Ramdas will not go at all. I hope the children are doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48*, between pp. 90 and 91

434. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

3 a.m., September 3, 1934

CHI. PREMA,

Your letter was full of descriptions. It seems your work is going on very well. Continue to send accounts of it in the same manner.

[1] The source has "twenty-five".

There is an article[1] in *Harijan* about the work to be done in villages. Read it. One and the same method will not work everywhere. This is a virgin field of work. Hence there will probably be a great deal of variety in the work to be done. The plan which I have and which I have explained in *Harijan* is based on one line of approach only. But to whom can I explain this, if not to you? Let me see now to how many persons you can explain it.

I am not surprised to learn about your being harassed. I would advise you not to mention the name of the Congress at all, let alone civil disobedience. For the present, only explain to the village people the pros and cons of your programme. Speaking of the Congress serves no purpose if its programme is not carried out. If the programme is carried out, there is no need to speak of it. The real worshippers of Shri Krishna are not those who shout "Krishna, Krishna", but those who do His work. Our hunger is not appeased if we keep shouting "bread, bread". It is appeased by eating bread.

Your assumption is correct. If you receive an order to leave the village, you should readily obey it. Only those who willingly obey laws which they do not like earn the right sometimes to disobey a law. This is rarely remembered by people.

Please do not assume that I shall attend the Congress. Many plans are maturing in my mind. I don't get time to write to you about all of them. Wait and see what happens. You should be satisfied that you have chalked out your work.

Kisan writes to me sometimes. Your letter to Amtussalaam was a good one.

You know that Ramdas does not keep good health. He has gone to Sabarmati along with Sharma. Ba has gone with him to look after him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10359 Also C.W. 6798. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

435. LETTER TO S. A. BRELVI

September 3, 1934

DEAR BRELVI,

Mahadev showed me your letter about Shah. I would like him to bc elected. He will be a valuable representative. But I doubt the propriety of a socialist standing for an avowedly capitalistic group. To divide on this issue the Chamber which is struggling to make good its position does not appeal to me. Nor does it appeal to me to oppose Mathuradas if he is standing. If Shah cannot stand on behalf of a popular constituency this time, he should wait. But if you and he feel otherwise, of course you will put forth the case before the Parliamentary Board. After all, the decsion will rest with it. And I neither attend your meetings nor do I try to influence its decisions in such matters.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. A. BRELVI
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy. Pyarelal

436. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

September 3, 1934

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

I got your letter. We don't want to start a public agitation in newspapers about the Lakhtar[1] matter as yet. After we have tried our best to get the matter settled through somebody who knows the Thakore, and, in case we fail, we shall have no option but to take the matter to the newspapers. I will see if I can find somebody who knows him. The father of Ramdas's father-in-law was a resident of that place. He had good relations with the Durbar. He is dead now. I don't know if any responsible person is there now. Ask Ramdas. If he knows somebody, he should write. I will ask Ramdas's wife. Today, however, is my silence day.

[1] Where Harijans were forbidden from using the public reservoir; *vide* also Vol. LIX, "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 21-9-1934.

If Ramdas's being there causes you inconvenience, do not hesitate to let me know. He has gone there to have the benefit of Surendra's company.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G N. 4044

437. *LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI*

September 3, 1934

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your letter only today.

You cannot take too strict measures regarding Talaja. Even after making allowances for exaggeration, what remains is without doubt terrible enough. See that such a thing never happens again in your State. Nanabhai and Chhaganlal Joshi write and tell me that your officers are indeed taking some steps.[1]

I was sorry to learn about the Prince's illness. If my blessings can be of any avail, you always have them for the asking. But it is only the blessings of Harijans that will work. The sincere blessings which the poor subjects of a Ruler pronounce on him cannot but bear fruit. It is only the blessings of the unhappy that help a Ruler or his subjects. People like you or me may put their trust in the blessings of the happy and the well-to-do, but you may be sure that they count for nothing.

Please inform me when the Prince is well again.

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I need not come to Bombay.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G N. 5936. Also C W. 3252. Courtesy: Mahesh P Pattani

[1] *Vide* also pp. 386-7.

438. LETTER TO PRAGJI K. DESAI

September 3, 1934

CHI. PRAGJI,

Nothing has been stopped. What you wish is exactly what has happened. One person at any rate remains. And one is enough. There is no room for disappointment in this struggle, nor for despair. What criticism, then, can you make? If you read my statement again, you will find all this in it. I understand about your troubles. But troubles are part of one's lot in this life.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5039

439. LETTER TO PREMLILA THACKERSEY

September 3, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

Ramdas is ill. Ba has taken him to the Harijan Ashram at Sabarmati. We have hoped that he will improve there. You have kept some honey for me. Just now a friend in Calcutta has been insisting on sending some honey for me, and so I have not given you trouble in that regard. But now please send it to Ramdas, C/o Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati. My blessings to all the girls there. I can never forget their services to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am regaining strength fairly rapidly.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PREMLILABEHN THACKERSEY
PARNAKUTI
YERAVDA, *via* POONA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4834. Courtesy: Premlila Thackersey

440. LETTER TO MAHENDRA V. DESAI

September 3, 1934

CHI. MANU,

You have indeed taken good pains to improve your handwriting, but there is room for plenty of improvement still. I have accepted Kaka's[1] article. He should, therefore, send the second instalment. How did you get conjunctivitis? Is the eye all right now?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati. C.W 7467. Courtesy: Mahendra V. Desai

441. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

September 3, 1934

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

Mr. Mung of Burma came and saw me two days ago. He said that at Haji's request he plunged into the Burmese question and carried on such a powerful agitation that it even told on his health. He has incurred, he says, an expense of Rs. 2,000. Since there has been no result, neither the company nor Haji would now accept his demand. They deny any understanding with him. He also expressed a desire to see you. I have replied to him that everybody takes up such work of his own free will and for the good of his people. If somebody refuses to keep his promise, one should blame one's own stupidity. All the same, I have advised him to write to you. If Haji gave a moral undertaking of any kind, I am of the view that Mr. Mung should be reimbursed the expense which he has incurred. Please let me know what the facts of the case are.

I hope you are doing well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4723. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

[1] The addressee's father

442. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

September 3, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Today I have crossed the limits in writing. My back forbids me to go on any more. But I can't obey the prohibitory order immediately. I could read Narahari's letter only today. I think some injustice has been done to him. I see no reason at all why you should have felt displeased with him in this matter. Since he could not put his case before you in Bombay, he has stated it with the utmost humility in his letter. The hope which he has expressed in it, that you would dissuade Kaka and prevail over those who cannot co-operate with him to try and do so, is no doubt too much. However, it is only a request that he has made. It betrays his ignorance of your nature. He should have taken your letter to me as expressing your final view. It is quite clear and fully meets the requirements of the situation. I have told Narahari that, if anybody can keep Kaka in Gujarat, it will have your approval and your blessing. Kishorelal told me that you had written a stiff letter to Narahari. If my argument appeals to you, please write a soothing letter to him. In case you may want to read his letter again, I am returning it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 131

443. SILENCE-DAY NOTE TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

[On or after] *September [3]*[1], *1934*

Send him papers and a brief account of what is going on. The amounts to be sent to Anand I have forgotten. I told him there should be some delay because of Jamnalal's illness.[2] But [if] you remember them tell me.

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

444. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

September 4, 1934

CHI. ABBAS,

Write to Jutha Hirani and ask him what connection my not going to the Harijan Ashram has with his self-purification. And tell him that if self-purification could be brought about merely by fasting, it would be as cheap as grass.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6309

445. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

September 4, 1934

I got your letter. I chanced to see your writing on karmayoga only yesterday and glanced through it. I will read it now if I get time.

What is this about music and cinema? Do they wish to turn the Congress session into a Felix Circus or Barnum show? But, then, what can I say in this matter? I do love music, but everything is good in its place. If the three or four days of the Con-

[1] The first Monday of the month was on this date.
[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Anand T. Hingorani", pp. 263 and 348.

gress session are crowded with such activities, the atmosphere of seriousness will disappear. Even if they wish to arrange such programmes, somebody may be given a contract for them. I am of the view, however, that no such programmes can be arranged at the place where the [nation's] parliament meets. But we have turned the Congress into a *tamasha*. Inclusion of genuine Indian music in a cent per cent swadeshi exhibition is legitimate. But only traditional instruments should be used in such a programme. I can see no room at all for a band. You may show this to Sardar. But if you wish to maintain discreet silence, you may do so. You must have heard from Sardar about the step I am contemplating. I will not, therefore, waste a few minutes of my time by writing about it here.

Why inquire about my health? It was tested yesterday. I was busy with the pen the whole day. There was no ill effect.

I don't know, however, if somebody here writes to you and gives you a different report.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 152

446. DISCUSSION WITH DODD[1]

September 4, 1934

DR. DODD: I have come to India[2], 10,000 miles, to see Taj which is a monument of the past and Mahatma Gandhi which is a symbol of the future.

GANDHIJI: But why not become a living Taj than a dead Taj? And why not a monument of the present than of the future?

Is there any chance of your coming to America? Could we kidnap you to America? We hear, you know, so much of kidnappers nowadays

No, for the simple reason that I should be of no use there. If I came there, it would be to demonstrate the secret and the beauty and the power of non-violence. I should not be able to do it today. I have not yet carried complete conviction to my own countrymen.

[1] This appeared as "A Talk with an American Friend" in *Harijan*. The date-line and the first two paragraphs are reproduced from the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary.

[2] Dodd was in charge of a girls' college in America.

What is your main objective, Mr. Gandhi?

The main objective is obvious and it is to gain independence, not for the literate and the rich in India, but for the dumb millions.

I know I have often come across that expression in your writings What are your methods?

Not many methods, but the one method of unadulterated truth and non-violence. But you might ask me, 'How are non-violence and truth expressed and applied?' I would say at once that the central fact in my programme is the spinning-wheel. I know that Americans are startled when I say this. What can be the meaning of this pet obsession, they ask.

Not all Americans Our daily paper one day criticized the spinning-wheel programme and in the very next column had an article describing people working with the shovel on a public thoroughfare, forty doing the work of a single machine. In a letter to the editor, I drew his attention to the incongruity and told him that, just as we were fighting unemployment, India, too, was fighting unemployment But with you, Mr. Gandhi, it is a moral and spiritual symbol, too?

Yes, of truth and non-violence. When as a nation we adopt the spinning-wheel, we not only solve the question of unemployment but we declare that we have no intention of exploiting any nation, and we also end the exploitation of the poor by the rich. It is a spiritual force which in the initial stages works slowly, but as soon as it gets started, it begins working in geometrical progression, i.e., when it gets into the life of the people. When I say I want independence for the millions, I mean to say not only that the millions may have something to eat and to cover themselves with, but that they will be free from the exploitation of people here and outside. We can never industrialize India, unless, of course, we reduce our population from 350 millions to 35 millions or hit upon markets wider than our own and dependent on us. It is time we realized that, where there is unlimited human power, complicated machinery on a large scale has no place. An Indian economist told me once that every American had 36 slaves, for, the machine did the work of 36 slaves. Well, Americans may need that, but not we. We cannot industrialize ourselves, unless we make up our minds to enslave humanity.

Then, we have to fight untouchability. Untouchability of a kind is everywhere. A coal porter coming from a coal-mine would not stretch out his hand to shake yours. He would say he

would wash himself clean first. But the moment a man has rendered himself clean, he should cease to be untouchable. Here however we have regarded a part of one population as perpetually untouchable.[1] We are trying to abolish that untouchability. Added to their untouchability is unemployment, which they share in common with a vast number of others. You, too, have got the unemployment problem, but it is of your own creation. Our unemployment is not entirely of our creation, but, however it came about, I am sure that, if my method was universalized in India, we should not only find work for those that exist but for those to come. That is, we should easily be able to tackle our population problem. The problem is to double the penny a day which is the average income of a poor Indian. If we can achieve that, it would be quite enough at least till we find a better method. The spinning-wheel, by utilizing the idle hours of the nation, produces additional wealth; it does not, it was never meant to, displace existing employment. Give me a thing which would increase the daily income of the millions of our impoverished people more than the spinning-wheel, and I should gladly give up the spinning-wheel.

I quite see. We talk of shortening of the hours of work, but as to what they are to do in their spare hours, we do not seem for a moment to trouble ourselves about.

I would ask one more question, Mr. Gandhi. I have the opportunity of speaking to many young men and women and I should like you to tell me what you consider your most satisfactory achievement—I will not say your greatest achievement, lest I should embarrass you In other words, what should I put before the young people as a thing that they should aspire after in life?

It is a difficult question. I do not know what to say. I can simply say this: I do not know whether you will call it an achievement or not, but I may say that, in the midst of humiliation and so-called defeat and a tempestuous life, I am able to retain my peace, because of an undying faith in God, translated as Truth. We can describe God as millions of things, but I have for myself adopted the simple formula—"Truth is God".

I see it, I see it. You have achieved peace in a world of confusion and turmoil.

[1] This sentence is reproduced from the manuscript of Mahadev Dasai's Diary.

it still remains, in my opinion, the most powerful and the most representative national organization in the country. It has a history of uninterrupted noble service and sacrifice from its inception. Its progress has been unbroken and steady. It has weathered storms as no other institution in the country has. It has commanded the largest measure of sacrifice of which any country would be proud. It has today the largest number of self-sacrificing men and women of unimpeachable character.

It is not with a light heart that I leave this great organization. But I feel that my remaining in it any longer is likely to do more harm than good. I miss at this juncture the association and advice of Jawaharlal who is bound to be the rightful helmsman of the organization in the near future. I have, therefore, kept before me his great spirit. And I feel that whilst his great affection for me would want to keep me in the Congress, his reason would endorse the step I have taken. And since a great organization cannot be governed by affections but by cold reason, it is better for me to retire from a field where my presence results in arresting full play of reason. Hence in leaving the organization I feel that I am in no sense deserting one who is much more than a comrade and whom no amount of political differences will ever separate from me.

Nor by retiring at this critical juncture am I less true to Babu Rajendra Prasad who will in all probability be the President of the forthcoming Congress, and who unlike Jawaharlal shares most of my ideals and whose sacrifice for the nation, judged whether in quality or quantity, is not to be excelled.

Then there is the Congress Parliamentary Board which would perhaps not have come into being, unless I had encouraged its formation with my whole heart. It supplies a want that was felt by many staunch and true Congressmen. It was necessary, therefore, to bring it into being. Such services as I am capable of rendering will still be at its disposal as at any Congressman's. It must command the full support of all Congressmen who have no insuperable objection to the entry of Congressmen into the existing legislatures. I should be sorry if the Board lost a single vote because of my withdrawal.

I fear none of the consequences dreaded by some friends, for I know my ground. A tree is no more hurt by a ripe fruit falling from it than would the Congress be by my going out of it. Indeed the fruit will be dead weight, if it did not fall when it was fully ripe. Mine is that condition. I feel that I am a dead weight on the Congress now.

There is a growing and vital difference of outlook between many Congressmen and myself. My presence more and more estranges the intelligentsia from the Congress. I feel that my policies fail to convince their reason, though strange as it may appear, I do nothing that does not satisfy my own reason. But my reason takes me in a direction just the opposite of what many of the most intellectual Congressmen would gladly and enthusiastically take, if they were not hampered by their unexampled loyalty to me. No leader can expect greater loyalty and devotion than I have received from intellectually-minded Congressmen even when they have protested and signified their disapproval of the policies I have laid before the Congress. I feel that for me any more to draw upon this loyalty and devotion is to put an undue strain upon them. I wish that those who strongly disapprove of my method would outvote me and compel my retirement. I have tried to reach that position but I have failed. They would cling to me till the end. The only way I can require such loyalty is by voluntary retirement. I cannot work in opposition when there are some fundamental differences between the Congress intelligentsia and me. Ever since my entry into public life I have never acted in that manner. . . .[1]

Then there is the growing group of socialists. Jawaharlal is their undisputed leader. I know pretty well what he wants and stands for. He claims to examine everything in a scientific spirit. He is courage personified. He has many years of service in front of him. He has an indomitable faith in his mission. The socialist group represents his views more or less, though probably their mode of execution is not exactly his. That group is bound to grow in influence and importance. I have welcomed the group. Many of them are respected and self-sacrificing co-workers. With all this, I have fundamental differences with them on the programme published in their authorized pamphlets. But I would not, by reason of the moral pressure I may be able to exert, suppress the spread of the ideas propounded in their literature. My remaining in the Congress would amount to the exercise of such pressure. I may not interfere with free expression of those ideas, however distasteful some of them may be to me. . . .[2]

For me to dominate the Congress in spite of these fundamental differences is almost a species of violence which I must refrain from. Their reason must be set free at any cost. Having discovered this undisputable fact, I would be disloyal to the Congress if, even at the risk of losing all my reputation, I did not leave the Congress.

[1]&[2] Omissions as in the source

But there is no danger to my reputation or that of the Congress, if I leave only to serve it better in thought, word and deed. I do not leave in anger or in a huff, nor yet in disappointment. I have no disappointment in me. I see before me a bright future for the country. Everything will go well, if we are true to ourselves. I have no other programme before me save the Congress programme now before the country. . . .[1]

In this and various other ways I would love to serve the Congress in my own humble manner. Thus living in complete detachment, I hope, I shall come closer to the Congreess. Congressmen will then accept my services without being embarrassed or oppressed.

One word to those who have given me their whole-hearted devotion in thought, word and deed in the pursuit of the common goal. My physical withdrawal from the Congress is not to be understood to mean an invitation to them to withdraw. They will remain in the Congress fold so long as the Congress needs them and work out such common ideals as they have assimilated.

Yours,
BAPU

Mahatma, Vol. III, pp 386-8

448. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

September 5, 1934

I am surprised that a responsible paper like *The Hindu* should have published, without reference to me, unauthorized news about a serious decision said to have been made by me. Surely the Wardha correspondent could have had the news confirmed or denied.[2] It was wrong to disclose incomplete and unauthorized reports of confidential conversations.

I may say that there have been discussions with co-workers in the matter but no final decision has been taken. According to my wont, I am sharing with friends, who happen to come to Wardha, the thoughts that dominate me. Public life will become impossible if exchange of views in the process of formation is at all published, especially if they are reported as if they are decisions.

[1] Omission as in the source

[2] According to *The Hindustan Times*, 5-4-1934, the correspondent had reported: "Mahatma Gandhi has decided to withdraw from the active leadership of the Congress . . . The decision, it is understood, is due to differences with Pandit Malaviya and others." *Vide* also pp 329-30

Whatever the decision that may be arrived at, it has and will have no connection whatsoever with Malaviyaji and Mr. Aney.

Whilst every effort will be made to reconcile differences and conduct the election campaign without friction with the new party that has been created by Malaviyaji, there is no doubt whatsoever in my mind or that of the members of the Working Committee that the Congress Parliamentary Board should, with the full backing of the Working Committee, prosecute the election campaign and in doing so give full effect to the resolution of the Working Committee on the Communal Award, in which it has an abiding faith and which, it believes, is the only effective method of bringing about an agreed solution between the communities concerned.

The Hindu, 5-9-1934

449. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

September 5, 1934

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I have your letter. I think it will be wise not to tackle any of the candidates on this question for the simple reason that all Congress members are bound to carry out the instructions issued from time to time by the Congress. And Temple-entry Bill is such a highly technical thing that it would be necessarily exploited by opponents. And the only question that would embarrass would be not of opening of temples but of the so-called legislative interference.

SHRI S. GANESAN
TRIPLICANE
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

450. *LETTER TO S. N. BOSE*

September 5, 1934

DEAR SATYANANDA BABU,

I have your letter. You have put me several posers which, of course, I shall bear in mind at the forthcoming meeting. Of course the secession[1] of Malaviyaji and Bapuji Aney complicates the situation. But these are the fortunes of political life.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SATYANANDA BOSE
4 NUNDY STREET
BALLYGUNGE
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

451. *LETTER TO DR. N. R. DHARMAVIR*

September 5, 1934

DEAR DR. DHARMAVIR[2],

I thank you for your letter. If I could only allow myself lemon-juice, I know there would be no difficulty in drinking sufficient quantity of water with lemon-juice added. But my fasts do not admit of the introduction of lemon-juice, for however low it may be it has a food value apart from such value as water and salts have. The problem before me, therefore, is somewhat difficult—how to overcome the disagreeableness of water without taking anything with it except soda or salt ?

Yours sincerely,

DR. N. R. DHARMAVIR
PADIHAM GROVE
DAVIS ROAD, LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] From the Congress Parliamentary Board

[2] President, Gulabdevi Hospital Trust, Lahore. Gandhiji had opened the hospital on July 17; *vide* pp. 206-7.

452. LETTER TO MANGHARAM SANTDAS

September 5, 1934

MY DEAR SANTDAS,

I have your letter. You have good news from Atma. The doctor's report does not disturb me at all. Naturally he has to be careful, and he has used an expression which need not frighten us. I am already in correspondence with Polak. Any letter going from me to Atma is likely to excite him. Therefore, for the time being I shall confine myself to writing to Polak. I have already written to Mirabehn or Agatha Harrison, I forget which, that Atma should be induced to return to India.[1] When the proper time comes I shall not fail to write to Atma directly and press him to come back, because I am quite clear in my mind that if he came here he would be quite all right. If he remains unhappy here, he might later on go back.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI MANGHARAM SANTDAS
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

453. LETTER TO G. R. SAHGAL

September 5, 1934

MY DEAR SAHGAL,

I have not been able to reply to you earlier. I am not able yet to tell you definitely what I can do with you.[2] I do want to harness your abilities for the Harijan cause. Would you care to go to Harijan Asrham, Sabarmati, and be there for a few days or longer, and come in contact with the workers there? The manager will then report to me and you will also tell me how you feel there and what use you would make of it if you

[1] Actually, the reference is in Gandhiji's letter to the addressee, *vide* p. 366.

[2] *Vide* also pp. 334 and 370.

were placed in charge. I am afraid that if you take me on trust you may have a reaction and may be thoroughly disappointed, or you may not be the man I picture you to be, and then I or the co-workers might be disillusioned. I do not want either tragedy to take place. And then it won't be for me to take you. It would be the Harijan Sevak Sangh which will have finally to decide. But naturally they would be largely guided by me seeing that you will be passed on to them through me. If you feel like going to Sabarmati on a visit of exploration, you will tell me and I shall secure the necessary permission for you. But you may, if you want to save time, correspond directly with Sjt. Parikshitlal, the manager there, mentioning this letter to him and I have no doubt that he will let you go. And then perhaps it will be necessary for you to see me in Wardha before I can finally make up my mind. If you do go to Sabarmati or come to Wardha, you will naturally pay your own fare.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers Courtesy: Pyarelal

454. *LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI*

September 5, 1934

DEAR DAUGHTER RAIHANA,

What a letter! But the reply will have to be in English.[1]

You are a perfect fraud—a strange mystic who cannot rise above the loving prejudices of parents. Your issue seems to me to be quite correct. But why are you not satisfied with your being in the right! Must your neighbours, be they parents, also admit your claim to be in the right? Why must not your knowledge that you are in the right be its own satisfaction? Why should disappointments defeat you? Or you must withdraw your claim to be spiritually-minded and mystic. Mystics are made of sterner stuff—they are not ruffled by misery or pain or insult nor elated by happiness, pleasure or praise.

If you say, they interfere with your action, it won't hold water. They do not prevent you bodily from[2] being absorbed in prayer or contemplation for two hours or longer. I think

[1] The source has this and the superscription in Urdu.
[2] The source has "for".

you will find that all your difficulties will dissolve, if without irritation, anger or assertiveness you tell them with the greatest firmness and equal gentleness and with a smile on your lips, that whatever you are doing is a fundamental necessity of your being.

Whilst I say this you should know that my whole heart is with you. You must have freedom of thought, speech and action. You must be treated as a friend, not as a child. I am afraid that in your resentment you have underrated the atmosphere of large-heartedness and tolerance that is the speciality of Tyabjis. If you gave full credit to them for this rare quality you would gladly overlook what appears to be patronizing in their behaviour towards you. Remember that you will not be you but for the training they gave you and the affection with which they have surrounded you all. Do not belittle the much they have done for you. Do you know this great *doha* of Tulsidas, the mystic?

जड़ चेतन गुण दोषमय विश्व किन्ह करतार
संत हंस गुण गहहिं पय परिहरि वारि विकार[1]

> God has endowed His animate and inanimate creation with good and bad qualities. The good man will sift and treasure the good from the bad even as the fabled swan separates and eats the cream from the water and the milk he sees before him.

I advise you and ask you to follow the advice of your fellow-mystic.

Tell me in reply that you have thrown overboard all your misery and are singing away in praise of Allah the God and the Benevolent.

My love to you and Saroj. Do you need thanks for Rs. 15 for the Harijans?

BAPU

From a photostat: S N. 9653. Also manuscript of Mahadev Dasai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

455. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

September 5, 1934

CHI. MARY,

I have your two letters. The selections from the Upanishads are prior to the *Gita* and therefore they were written between the tenth and the fifth century (B.C.), if not much earlier. There are

[1] *Ramacharitamanasa*, Balakanda

others which are comparatively recent; but the Sanskrit selections are very few.

I am sorry for Miss Linforth's loss. If she wants me to replace it, I would gladly do so. But I should have the full text[1].

I hope you are completely restored. I am keeping quite well. I have gained 8 lb. I walk freely, though on the terrace, and go through a fair amount of work.

It is difficult to induce Harijans to spin. In some places we have succeeded.

I send you through separate post one of Mirabehn's letters for you to read, which please return after use. There is no hurry about returning it.

I am also sending you the latest number of *Harijan*.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G N. 6027. Also C.W 3356. Courtesy. F. Mary Barr

456. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

September 5, 1934

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

I wish you had told me about Surajbehn in Poona itself. I didn't know at all that Deodhar and you had encouraged her to study [the working of] a maternity home. Many women can, and would like to, run such a home. I would never think of engaging Surajbehn in work which many other women can, and would like to, do. Moreover, as Kishorelal says, such work does not seem to be included among our objects. If I can, that is, am free to do so under the trust rules, I will acquiesce in what Deodhar and you have approved, but *if I have* to decide after seeing for myself, Surajbehn must vacate the building.

Read Kishorelal's letter. I was surprised about Swami too. It certainly does not become one who claims to be a satyagrahi to show disrespect to a man or woman simply because he or she did not go to jail. That is why I have given so much time to this matter. Please guide me now.

Ghanshyamdas and I have had discussion, not exhaustive but enough for our purpose. We have had a full discussion about the Ashram. The draft will be dispatched tomorrow.

About the remaining letters, some other time.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati. G.N. 1141

[1] *Vide* " A Prayer", On or before 12-9-1934.

457. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

September 6, 1934

MY DEAR CHILD,

I held up your letter all these days in the hope of being able to send the answer myself. But I must deny myself that pleasure and dictate this letter if I am to overtake the arrears.

If proof were needed God is proving for me His greatness and goodness every day. You remember the hymn "Count your many blessings". I think it is in Moody and Sankey's Hymn Book. I can't even count the blessings, they are so many. For even the so-called sorrows and pains He sends descend like blessings. If we knew His love, we should know that He has nothing but blessings—and never curses—for His creation.

I hope Tangai is quite free and both the children are flourishing. You must have now received the spinning-wheel. I hope that Menon is well-settled.

I am flourishing. My weight has gone up from 94 to 101 lb. I am going through a fair amount of work and taking regular exercise.

Mira is doing good work in London. She expects to be back in October. Andrews was here for over a week and he has now gone to Simla. He will come once more to Wardha before sailing, most probably on the 6th October, for London. He was looking quite well. He has brought a Welsh blacksmith with him from South Africa. Mr. Jones, that is his name, has recently joined the Oxford movement and considers himself a changed man. We all liked him very much. When Andrews goes to England, he will go back to South Africa.

Pyarelal and Mahadev are here. Ba has gone with Ramdas to Sabarmati where Ramdas is to have rest and cure for his ailment. Devdas was here for a few days. He left yesterday for Bombay. He is likely to come back for the Working Committee meeting on the 8th. This, you will admit, is a fair family budget of news. You must write more regularly than you have hitherto done. I don't expect to move from Wardha yet for some time.

With love to you all,

BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON
TANJORE

From a photostat: No 20130. Courtesy: National Archives of India Also *My Dear Child*, pp. 106-7

458. LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI

September 6, 1934

MY DEAR SURESH,

I have your letter. I was not able to reply to it earlier. I had a chat with Birlaji. He is aggreeable to your spending from Rs. 2,000 to 3,000 on land and buildings, provided of course that they remain his property. But you will be at liberty to inhabit the house free of rent or any other charge so long as your health needs such residence. He does not intend to make private use of such property. He will give it for a charitable purpose, most probably for a Harijan hostel. But that is a thing with which neither you nor I are concerned. I think that then you won't need Rs. 200, but only Rs. 60 per month. Observe too that from October to December you will need not Rs. 200 but ranging from Rs. 125 to 150. You will let me know in time what you would reguire. And I hope that you will make steady improvement. You must not encourage the thought that the disease is incurable and that you have got to leave within a year or two.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI
11/1 DILKUSHA STREET
PARK CIRCUS, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

459. *LETTER TO B. J. MARATHEY*

September 6, 1934

MY DEAR MARATHEY[1],

I have sent[2] you one thing in connection with Rajbhoj's complaint. I am expecting an answer from you. I now send you a letter from Dr. Mulay which please return.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI B. J. MARATHEY
POONA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

460. *LETTER TO BHASKAR MUKERJI*

September 6, 1934

DEAR BHASKAR,

I thank you for your letter and whole statement of the work done by the Corporation. I understand clearly now what you meant when you said that the Corporation had no authority. The statement does not show that the Corporation has done anything heroic. Let us, however, hope that this year will show a marked improvement in the treatment of these the most neglected and yet the most deserving of the citizens of Calcutta.[3]

Love to you, 'Baby' and children.

SHRI BHASKAR MUKERJI
CENTRAL MUNICIPAL OFFICE
CORPORATION OF CALCUTTA
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Secretary, Maharashtra Board, Harijan Sevak Sangh
[2] *Vide* pp. 383-4.
[3] *Vide* also pp. 321-2.

461. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

September 6, 1934

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have the copy of Satisbabu's letter to you regarding Hussanali who has been recommended by the Maulana for khadi propaganda. I share Satisbabu's fear, but I think that Hussanali should be taken on three month's trial. But the ultimate decision, I should leave to you and Satisbabu.

SHRI SHANKARLAL BANKER
AHMEDABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

462. VILLAGE TANNING AND ITS POSSIBILITIES

Village tanning is as ancient as India itself. No one can say when tanning became a degraded calling. It could not have been so in ancient times. But we know today that one of the most useful and indispensable industries has consigned probably a million people to hereditary untouchability. An evil day dawned upon this unhappy country when labour began to be despised and, therefore, neglected. Millions of those who were the salt of the earth, on whose industry this country depended for its very existence, came to be regarded as low class and the microscopic leisured few became the privileged classes, with the tragic result that India suffered morally and materially. Which was the greater of the two losses it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate. But the criminal neglect of the peasants and the artisans has reduced us to pauperism, dulness and habitual idleness. With her magnificent climate, lofty mountains, mighty rivers and an extensive seaboard, India has limitless resources, whose full exploitation in her villages should have prevented poverty and disease. But the divorce of the intellect from body-labour has made of us perhaps the shortest-lived, most resourceless and most exploited nation on earth. The state of village tanning is, perhaps, the best proof of my indictment. It was the late Madhusudan Das who opened my eyes to the great crime against a part of humanity.

He sought to make reparation by opening what might be called an educational tannery. His enterprise did not come up to his expectations, but he was responsible for the livelihood of hundreds of shoemakers in Cuttack.

It is estimated that rupees nine crores worth of raw hide is annually exported from India and that much of it is returned to her in the shape of manufactured articles. This means not only a material but also an intellectual drain. We miss the training we should receive in tanning and preparing the innumerable articles of leather we need for daily use.

Tanning requires great technical skill. An army of chemists can find scope for their inventive talent in this great industry. There are two ways of developing it. One for the uplift of Harijans living in the villages and eking out a bare sustenance, living in filth and degradation and consigned to the village ghetto, isolated and away from the village proper. This way means in part re-organization of villages and taking art, education, cleanliness, prosperity and dignity to them. This means also the application of chemical talent to village uplift. Tanning chemists have to discover improved methods of tanning. The village chemist has to stoop to conquer. He has to learn and understand the crude village tanning, which is still in existence but which is fast dying owing to neglect, not to say want of support. But the crude method may not be summarily scrapped, at least not before a sympathetic examination. It has served well for centuries. It could not have done so, if it had no merit. The only research I know in this direction is being carried on in Santiniketan, and then it was started at the now defunct Ashram at Sabarmati. I have not been able to keep myself in touch with the progress of the experiment at Santiniketan. There is every prospect of its revival at the Harijan Ashram, which the Sabarmati Ashram has now become. These experiments are mere drops in the ocean of possible research.

Cow-preservation is an article of faith in Hinduism. No Harijan worth his salt will kill cattle for food. But, having become untouchable, he has learnt the evil habit of eating carrion. He will not kill a cow but will eat with the greatest relish the flesh of a dead cow. It may be physiologically harmless. But psychologically there is nothing, perhaps, so repulsive as carrion-eating. And yet, when a dead cow is brought to a Harijan tanner's house, it is a day of rejoicing for the whole household. Children dance round the carcass, and as the animal is flayed, they take hold of bones or pieces of flesh and throw them at one

another. As a tanner, who is living at the Harijan Ashram, describing the scenes at his own now forsaken home, tells me, the whole family is drunk with joy at the sight of the dead animal. I know how hard I have found it working among Harijans to wean them from the soul-destroying habit of eating carrion. Reformed tanning means the automatic disappearance of carrion-eating.

Well, here is the use for high intelligence and the art of dissection. Here is also a mighty step in the direction of cow-preservation. The cow must die at the hands of the butcher, unless we learn the art of increasing her capacity of milk-giving, unless we improve her stock and make her male progeny more useful for the field and carrying burdens, unless we make scientific use of all her excreta as manure and unless, when she and hers die, we are prepared to make the wisest use of her hide, bone, flesh, entrails, etc.

I am just now concerned only with the carcass. It is well to remember here that the village tanner, thank God, has to deal only with the carcass, not the slaughtered animal. He has no means of bringing the dead animal in a decent way. He lifts it, drags it, and this injures the skin and reduces the value of the hide. If the villagers and the public knew the priceless and noble service the tanner renders, they will provide easy and simple methods of carrying it, so as not to injure the skin at all.

The next process is flaying the animal. This requires great skill. I am told that none, not even surgeons, do this work better or more expeditiously than the village tanner does with his village knife. I have inquired of those who should know. They have not been able to show me an improvement upon the village tanner. This is not to say that there is none better. I merely give the reader the benefit of my own very limited experience. The village tanner has no use for the bone. He throws it away. Dogs hover round the carcass, whilst it is flayed, and take away some, if not all, of the bones. This is a dead loss to the country. The bones, if powdered fine, apart from their other uses, make valuable manure. What remains after the dogs have taken away their share is transported to foreign countries and returns to us in the shape of handles, buttons, etc.

The second way is urbanizing this great industry. There are several tanneries in India doing this work. Their examination is outside the scope of this article. This urbanization can do little good to the Harijans, much less to the villages. It is a process of double drain from the villages. Urbanization in India is slow but sure death for her villages and villagers. Urbanization can

never support ninety per cent of India's population, which is living in her 7,00,000 villages. To remove from these villages tanning and such other industries is to remove what little opportunity there still is for making skilled use of the hand and the head. And when the village handicrafts disappear, the villagers working only with their cattle on the field, with idleness for six or four months in the year, must, in the words of Madhusudan Das, be reduced to the level of the beast and be without proper nourishment, either of the mind or the body, and, therefore, without joy and without hope.

Here is work for the cent-per-cent swadeshi-lover and scope for the harnessing of technical skill to the solution of a great problem. The work fells three apples with one throw. It serves the Harijans, it serves the villagers and it means honourable employment for the middle-class intelligentsia who are in search of employment. Add to this the fact that the intelligentsia have a proper opportunity of coming in direct touch with the villagers.

Harijan, 7-9-1934

463. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised *September 7, 1934*

CHI. MIRA,

I must not attempt to write to you this week. I have too much to attend to immediately to undertake[1] a long letter to you. Mahadev must have written at least. This is just to tell you that I am getting on quite well and working almost full speed. There is nothing to worry about myself.

I hope the storm about Agatha and Muriel is entirely over and that the associations between them and you are sweeter than ever.

I have the Parliamentary Board and Working Committee meetings before me. Before this reaches you, you will see some startling announcement[2]. You should not worry about it at all there.

Ba has gone to Sabarmati Harijan Ashram in charge of Ramdas who is going to have treatment there under Dr. Sharma. Ramdas's health has broken down completely, though there is nothing organically wrong about him. But Ba was anxious about him and offered to go with Ramdas. I was also pleased. Devdas was here and passed a few days with us. Khan Brothers are here

[1] The source has "as to overtake".

[2] The reference is to his resignation from the Congress; *vide* vol. LIX, pp. 3-12.

and I am having a very nice time with them. To be with them more, is to love them more. They are so nice, so simple and yet so penetrative. They do not beat about the bush.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABEHN
LONDON

From the original: C.W. 6297. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9763

464. LETTER TO NURGISBEHN CAPTAIN

September 7, 1934

I have been withholding replies to your letters and Khurshed's as you had expected none from me and as I had wanted to save as much time and energy as I possibly could. But your last letter demands an answer. I must not postpone it for writing the reply myself.

I see no objection to your using swadeshi yarn for embroidery so long as we cannot procure a hand-spun yarn suitable for embroidery work. My justification for this latitude is this: embroidery is no part of original khadi; but embroidery is simply superadded even as we use sewing thread for preparing clothes, or use even foreign dyes in order to enhance the salability of khadi.

I am glad Khurshed is looking better. When are you proposing to do likewise? Khan Brothers are here and I am having a glorious time with them. I am having quiet discussions with them twice daily for about two hours. They are both free and penetrative.

You will be presently seeing another startling announcement from me. Don't you be anxious or inquisitive. It is better not to hawk about the proposed decision so that I can safely make the announcement. There is nothing that I can possibly have to withhold from you, but I do not want to write anything about it.

Love to you all. I suppose I must not expect any letter from Jamnabehn.

SHRI NURGISBEHN CAPTAIN
78 NAPEAN ROAD, BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy. Pyarelal

465. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

September 7, 1934

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your several letters as also the ink-bottle. I must report to you on the ink later on. Did you prepare it specially for me, or did you prepare it for the general market?

What about Kshitishbabu's experiment in dried milk? I wonder if he has received my letter[1] sent through you. So far as I am aware he has been silent.

Have you yet got charge of the Harijan office? You have asked me for suggestions about welfare scheme for Bengal Harijans. I can't think of anything special. You must, therefore, refer to *Harijan* for whatever I had said, and adopt with necessary modifications whatever you may find to be suitable there. Of course your problem is somewhat different from the problem elsewhere. You will carefuly study the article[2] I have sent to *Harijan* on tanning.

Are you making progress with your "Guide for Village Workers" on treatment of simple diseases and accidents?

In *Onward* I see an advertisement on strawboards manufactured by Kuver Board Limited, Mill Department, 84 Clive Street, Calcutta. The advertisement says it is manufactured through Indian capital, Indian labour and Indian material. What are these strawboards? Are they of any use for Yeravda Charkha?

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* pp. 359-60.
[2] *Vide* pp. 416-9.

466. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

September 7, 1934

CHI. PURATAN,

I got your letter. If you were not cheated when you parted with the hundred rupees, what else could it be? If you were not cheated, what mistake did you acknowledge? As for myself, I believe that you have been cheated. Would a poor man give away a hundred rupees for the sake of a joke? I am afraid, I have no hope that you will either get the Rs. 100 or the money for the bill. If this does not happen again, let us take it as an easy atonement.

Have we to debit the money which Parikshitlal gave for his board to the Charkha Sangh? We cannot debit it to the Harijan Fund. Have you taken the right amount of rent for their lodging? What is the rate of rent?

Tell Parikshitlal that I have written a letter to a palace official at Lakhtar. Let us see what happens.

Are you keeping fit?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4046 Also C.W. 160. Courtesy: Parikshitlal L. Majmudar

467. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA

September 7, 1934

BHAI BHAGWANJI,

I got both your letters. I have been doing Indian States' work according to my lights and ability. The principle of ahimsa is founded on the assumption that every human being is capable of reform. Since I cannot give up this faith, some difference of opinion between you and me will always remain.

I understand about Prabhashankar. He will be meeting me next week, and I will, then, talk with him about that matter too.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N 5824. Also C.W. 3047 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

468. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

September 7, 1934

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have your letter. You must have got mine.

I have purposely and after due thought sent Ramdas [to the Ashram]. The result lies in God's hands. Surendra is engrossed in doing his duty there. How could I call him away? Ramdas's illness is more mental than physical. According to me, the good company that he will get there will itself help like medicine.

Give only such help as you easily can without going out of your way. I have not created new work for you in this.

You may go to the Ashram when you are completey free. I am trying to send you the letter which you require. Why should you feel afraid of Thakkar Bapa? All of us have some idiosyncracies and we should tolerate one another's. I am sure you will be able to manage. And in the last resort I am always there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9064

469. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHARMA

[September 7, 1934][1]

CHI. SHARMA,

I did not mind your not visiting me, rather I appreciated it. I took it that you wished to save my time.[2]

I do not see much reason for calling the doctor. You ought to know the processes of examining the urine and the stools. But I am sending a letter, you may certainly use it if you want to.

I shall write to Ba and advise her to express her opinions freely. I had already told her to do so. I shall at once inform you of whatever Ba writes to me.

[1] As supplied by the addressee

[2] The addressee had gone to Sabarmati without meeting Gandhiji and had apologized for it.

Enquire into the arrangement[1] at Jamnagar and write to me. I shall find out the details later and write about it. I quite like your intention of cooking for yourself but you must not be adamant about it. What do you cook ?

I shall let you know immediately the news I receive from Phœnix. You can send for Draupadi when it is all fixed up. I had written to her.[2] If you have gained some experience and things are progressing well so that Ramdas need not at all go to South Africa, Draupadi can be immediately sent for. We shall know something definite on Monday.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

It was good that you met Mogheji. The sum of Rs. 152 was deposited in the Ashram that very day. I have enquired about the goods and am awaiting a reply.

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi. *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48*, between pp. 92-3

470. LETTER TO MOTILAL DEEVDA

September 7, 1934

BHAI MOTILAL DEEVDA[3],

I had your telegram. Also your letter. I could not reply promptly for lack of time. Please excuse me. It was not possible to send a wire in reply to the wire.

The matter of . . .'s[4] second marriage is being discussed. The future alone can show what the ultimate outcome will be and, whether or not he will get my blessings as well as his elders'. His present wife, although more than 20, has, because of her illness, the appearance of a twelve year old. She is incapable of bearing children. She heartily consents to . . .'s second marriage. For years she will not be able to lead conjugal life, so she wishes to take up a life of service. If he marries again there is a talk of satisfactory maintenance for her by . . . and his father. . . . feels the need for a wife. I believe it is in conformity with dharma to enable him to lead

[1] The Ruler of Jamnagar had built a solarium for his personal use.
[2] *Vide* p 391
[3] President of the Marwari Sabha
[4] The name has been omitted

a restrained married life with a suitable wife. And he should be able to get the blessings of all pious men and women. All this, however, depends upon the purity and restraint of . . . . Nothing will be done in haste. All his kith and kin are keen about preservation of dharma. The best thing for . . . would be to exercise total restraint and overcome his passions. But only one among a million young men can do this. We should all pray to God to grant . . . such strength.

In the interest of . . ., I request you not to publish this letter nor to discuss this matter publicly. If you wish to convey something to me, certainly do so.[1]

Yours,

From a copy of the Hindi· C.W. 10220 Courtesy: G. D. Birla

471. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ[2]

September 8, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have been regularly getting your letters and also reports about your health. You seem to enjoy God's kindness in full measure, for the wound is healing more quickly than the doctors had expected. Do not be in the slightest hurry to leave. Leave only after the wound has healed completely. I like your idea of going to Sinhgad. There you will also get Mehta's help whenever needed. The climate is certainly very good. The water is very light. The place, therefore, will do you much good. Nor is it very far.

Do not talk much. Even when necessary, talk in a low voice and not with a full voice. The effort to speak has always some effect on the ear.

Avoid rice and dal. I am sure that will do you much good. Rely more on milk. Curds should not be even slightly sour. Go on gradually increasing exercise as much as the doctors permit from time to time. Do not worry about anything. If you follow this regimen, it will not only be good for the ear but will also refresh the brain.

Malaviyaji came today. He is accompanied by Radhakant.

[1] Under Gandhiji's instructions, Prabhavati had sent a copy of this letter to G. D Birla.

[2] This was written before 3.30 a.m.; *vide* the following item.

Ali and Khaliq [uz-Zaman] also have come. The others will come tomorrow.

Khanbhai is very happy. He is with me every morning when I go for a walk and also from 4-5 in the evening. We discuss the problems at leisure one by one.

You must have heard Pagali's story regarding myself. I do not want to bother you with it now. You may offer your criticism later when you are completely all right. I think you will approve of everything.

Om stays with me all the time and helps as and when required. Four or rather five girls are doing the work which could be done by one or two girls. Each, therefore, gets very little to do. As you know, Prabhavati will not let the other girls do much. Moreover Madalasa also comes to claim her share.

Radhakisan keeps worrying so much because of your instructions that, though he keeps careful watch over me, he is always afraid lest he may be blamed. I do get up very early. I do not need more sleep and I feel light during the day if I have finished my work in the morning. Now the weight will increase slowly. The quantity of food cannot be increased, so what I eat now will increase the weight slowly. I think that is better. Strength is growing steadily. I take a short nap during daytime and am in bed at 8.45 p.m., or at the latest by 9 p.m. Thus nobody can blame me for not taking enough care of my health. I shall be here till you come and even after that. I shall not go anywhere unless there is some reason.

Andrews is returning on Sunday. Kumarappa has taken 20 days' leave. I will send him back as soon as the period is over. He will arrive here on Tuesday.

The girls seem to be progressing quite well. Vinoba himself supervises everything. I therefore, don't have to interfere with anything.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I forgot about Assam. If you know the Congressmen there, send the Assam money to them. If you don't know, then send the money to Jwalaprasad. The Marwari Relief Committee is working there. This amount should be added to its funds. Do what you think best.

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 134-5

472. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 8, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter of the 6th.

I have asked Narahari to inquire into the facts regarding the dairy and let me have his opinion. I will not forget about this matter.

I am still not able to take sufficient rest. I have again started getting up at 2.30. The bed itself pushes me out and I welcome that. It is 3.30 just now. I have started writing this after finishing one to Jamnalal.

I can't think what to do regarding Chimanlal and Sharda. One thing is clear to me. Sharda's living with Chimanlal may not be for her good. If her devotion to her father has become her sole passion, she may, though ill herself, sacrifice her health in nursing Chimanlal. We come across many such instances in Europe. I don't remember to have seen any among us. But the education which we give is certainly likely to produce girls of this type. Such idealism endures only if it grows spontaneously. If Sharda does not possess this spirit, she should have regard for her health and leave Chimanlal. She may come and live here. There are other girls of her age here, and among them there are ten Gujarati girls even, including Vali. The climate also is excellent. I, too, shall be here for some time. In any case my headquaters will continue to be here. There are good arrangements for study, too. It is desirable that one who is ill should not nurse another sick person. Shakaribehn should undertake to look after Chimanlal. The latter should stop eating solid food and live only on milk and fruit. A pure milk-diet has been found to have beneficial effect, but I think such an experiment is too drastic. A mixed diet of milk and fruit is found best. Even if such a diet brings on weakness, I would advise Chimanlal not to mind it but persevere in the experiment patiently. Sharma is at Sabarmati now. He has renounced everything in order to live with Ramdas. That is why he has taken Ramdas with him and gone to Sabarmati. Ba has gone there to look after Ramdas. You may, if you wish, consult Sharma [regarding Chimanlal]; I have had experience of his goodness. I cannot say, though, anything regarding

his competence as a doctor. All the same, there can be no harm in consulting him. Milk and fruit, however, are both food and medicine. Anybody who is not benefited by them is hardly likely to be benefited by anything else. Water and sun treatments also should go on at the same time. The chief thing in my advice is the suggestion regarding Sharda. Both of you should please think over it.

My personal needs are being looked after by Prabhavati, Amtussalaam, Vasumati and Om. Amala also does some work. But I am really afraid that she will go off her head one day. She is hardly in her senses. She is growing thinner everyday. And now she has become impatient to marry. I observe that she is not free from passion. In consequence of her trying to suppress it, it has become uncontrollable. She hopes to be mother of twelve children. She is 37 at present. Let us see what she does. I don't have the courage now to send her to you or somewhere else. She is trying to get a job in some college. I don't mind if she succeeds by her own efforts. But I don't intend to recommend her to anybody. I don't worry, but the fact remains that the responsibility of looking after her has become more difficult.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

What has been decided regarding Keshu's marriage?

From the microfilm of the Gujarati: M M.U /I. Also C.W. 8412 Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

473. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

September 8, 1934

DEAR SATISBABU,

You have given a dismal picture. But it does not disturb me. The atmosphere will undoubtedly clear up presently. You will have seen my counter-statement[1] about retiring from the Congress. Discussions are going on. So far as I am concerned, I am most anxious to leave the Congress and serve it from being out of it. I have drawn up a statement which I propose to discuss with the Working Committee. You will know the result in due time. The thing that is deeper than the corruption is the

[1] *Vide* pp. 406-7.

fundamental differences between many Congressmen and myself. But let me not anticipate. Let the constructive workers go on with their work.

Constructive workers must not touch any newspaper enterprise, and certainly not at this time. Nor do I agree with you that a paper with balanced views is required at this time. An outspoken paper in the face of the Press laws is an impossibility unless it eschews politics altogether. But that is not what you mean. You want something to counterbalance the poisons. That means having to deal with politics also.

How much ink have you prepared? What is the use of distributing things gratis unless it is for advertisement?

I hope Hemprabha is going on well.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

474. LETTER TO NARAYANASWAMY

September 8, 1934

MY DEAR NARAYANASWAMY,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I also got the packet of ashes. They will be consigned to the Ganges in due course.

I hope you have a good wife and that you are happy. If she is educated, if she can write, let her do so.

I understand that you have financial difficulties. The only advice I can give you is : "Do not borrow." What honestly and industriously you find, you will take and keep up father's reputation. The real capital young men need is a good body, a good character and tireless industry.

I shall wait for Parthasarathy's and Sesamae's letters. You should continue to write to me.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI NARAYANASWAMY
174 PRESIDENT STREET
JOHANNESBURG

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

475. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRAN

September 8, 1934

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

I have not been able to answer your enquiry earlier. Gandhi Seva Sangh is just now undergoing a thorough overhauling and is about to adopt some drastic changes. The allowances made hitherto had been on a liberal scale. But it is being radically revised. And then if these changes are to come into force, Jamnalalji is not taking any part in it. He is still undergoing treatment in Bombay and would not be able to attend to regular work before a few months perhaps. He has got to take rest in a quiet place before he resumes normal activity. Meantime you may tell me what your personal requirements are.

SHRI RAMACHANDRAN
BANGALORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers Courtesy: Pyarelal

476. LETTER TO B. J. MARATHEY

September 8, 1934

MY DEAR MARATHEY,

I am glad you have sent me an exhaustive reply, and that too promptly, to my inquiry[1]. I shall now make use of it.[2]

Yours sincerely,

SHRI B. J. MARATHEY
SECRETARY, H.S.S.
MAHARASHTRA BOARD
POONA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* p. 415

[2] It was published in *Harijan*, 28-9-1934; *vide* Vol. LIX, "Maharashtra Harijan Sevak Sangh", 28-9-1934. *Vide* also "Letter to Dr. B. V. Mulay", 12-9-1934.

477. LETTER TO GULZARILAL NANDA

September 8, 1934

MY DEAR GULZARILAL,

I am glad you are keeping me informed of what is going on there. It is a fine thing that the proceedings are being conducted in a perfectly orderly manner. That means real solid work.

I am keeping quite well.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA
45 CHOWPATTY
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

478. LETTER TO LILAVATI

September 8, 1934

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. If you hear from Siddhimati, give me the news about her.

Do all of you eat your meals at different times or together? How many take your meals together? Do you get any fruit there? Do you get good milk ?

What books do you read ? I should like you to improve your handwriting still further.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9329. Also C.W. 6604. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

479. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA

September 8, 1934

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I have your letter. My congratulations to Father on leading everyone in speed. Your note does not indicate the count and uniformity of yarn. You must find it. I suppose you know the way of finding it. The method used for villages is very simple. Give me your opinion about the yarn spun on the bamboo spinning-wheel. What is the circumference of the wheel?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2792

480. LETTER TO NIRUPAMA

September 8, 1934

CHI. NIRUPAMA,

I have your letter. It is nice of you to write. I am absolutely all right now. Do keep on writing.

Blessings from
BAPU

KUMARI NIRUPAMA
SUDAMA KUTIR, UDIPI
KARNATAK

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9225

481. LETTER TO S. D. SATAVLEKAR

September 9, 1934

BHAI SATAVLEKAR,

I have your letter. Pre-marital intercourse is ruinous to health, moral as well as physical.

Journals propagating such morality are knowingly or unknowingly the enemies of society. My submission to young men and women is that they will do immense harm to themselves and the nation by such licentious behaviour.

Is Dr. Kelkar there? If not, where is he and what is he doing ?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

PANDIT SHRI SATAVLEKAR
SVADHYAYA MANDAL
AUNDH
SATARA DISTRICT

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 4775. Courtesy: S. D. Satavlekar

482. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 11, 1934

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter.

I knew that the important letter which I wrote[1] to you would certainly put you in difficulty. I think what I expected you to do was unreasonable. I was plainly guilty of violence. But I thought it would be a great trouble to re-write such a long letter, and this desire to spare myself increased the magnitude of my violence. God knows how many times I must be committing such violence everyday. The path of renunciation of work was discovered to save us from such dangers. But only one person out of ten million can follow it. Can a person who does nothing outwardly but whose mind is always busy be regarded as observing non-violence? For us, therefore, the only course is to go on working and commit-

[1] *Vide* pp. 427-8.

ting errors and to strive all the time to remain inactive inwardly and reduce the number of our errors from day to day.

I have wired to Kanu and told him that he may come, so that his days may not be wasted. It seems my letters take four days to reach you.

I am sending to you a letter which I have received from the Superintendent at Dhulia. It will be sent by book post. I have just given it to Vinoba to read.

I have still not received Mathuradas's reply. Lilavati may certainly come here in the vacation. I know her very well. Her unsteadiness is incurable.

The women are doing well as teachers. Even if only 50 per cent of them became permanent here, the Bal Mandir will run well.

. . .[1] had started indulging his passion as early as the time when he was at Sabarmati. And he had no scruples in telling lies either. He has now written a letter of repentance to Balkrishna and asked what he should do for atonement.

Amala's case is different. As she has got a job in Santiniketan for teaching French, she is quite cheerful these days. She will go in a few days. She is only waiting for the final reply.

I shall be able to decide about the dairy at Sabarmati only after Narahari has gone there.

Sumitra has trouble in one of her eyes, and so Ba is accompanying her to Bombay today for treatment.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8413. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

483. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

September 11, 1934

Does not the fact that you have completed forty years also mean that now so many less remain from a hundred? If we reckon thus, we can also say that we grow younger as each day passes. Complete the remaining sixty as you have done forty and increase what you have earned so far.

. . .[2] You did not send me your book on Karmayoga. But I saw it by chance and it is being read daily in the library. It will

[1] The name has been omitted.
[2] Omission as in the source

be completed in a few days. I like the arrangement of the material. You have tried to compress much in a few pages. Those who do not know the subject are likely to find the book difficult. The binding is bad. What is its sale like? Is *Vicharshristi* selling satisfactorily?

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 153

484. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

September 11, 1934

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. The last two letters received from Damodardas have been sent on to you. I find something quite different in them. He says there is some misunderstanding on your part. Or is it mine? You yourself must write to Damodardas, and me, too, what precisely you told me. This, now, cuts the ground away from under any charge against Keshu, Santok and Radha. The words you quoted from the letter of Damodardas also are rendered insignificant. You remember, do you not? I am nervous. I am behaving contrary to my nature. How can I remain at peace while I harbour the least doubt about Santok and others? And how can I disbelieve what you have told me? I have no knowledge at all as to when I shall go to Bombay. Possibly I may go in October during the Congress session. And there will be no time then for talking to Damodardas.

I hope you are keeping well there and there has been no recurrence of fever.

If you have money enough to send to Radha, why can you not send to me? On the one hand your brothers are under debt, it is not known if the house ever will be saved or not, yet you are capable of shouldering the burden of Radha's expenses! Don't you know that Radha is provided for? There has never been any trouble in meeting her expenses. You may certainly help me if you wish to. Are you asking for my permission to send money to Radha over and above her present allowance? If so, why?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2423

485. A PRAYER[1]

[On or before *September 12, 1934*][2]

Lord of humility, dwelling in the little pariah hut, help us to search for Thee throughout that fair land watered by Ganges, Brahmaputra and Jumna. Give us receptiveness, give us open-heartedness, give us Thy humility, give us the ability and willingness to identify ourselves with the masses of India.

O God, who does help only when man feels utterly humble, grant that we may not be isolated from the people we would serve as servants and friends. Let us be embodiments of self-sacrifice, embodiments of godliness, humility personified, that we may know the land better and love it more.

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence, pp. 88-9

486. TELEGRAM TO HIRALAL SHARMA

September 12, 1934

SHARMA
ASHRAM
SABARMATI

NO HURRY GOING HOME.[3] I MUST HOLD YOU YOUR PROMISE. PRODUCE SATISFACTORY CERTIFICATE THERE. WRITING[4] TOMORROW. WIRE RAMDAS DAILY PROGRESS.

BAPU

From a facsimile: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48*, facing p 95

[1]&[2] The prayer was an enclosure to "Letter to F. Mary Barr", pp 437-8. In the source, Mary Barr explains: "Miss Linforth is an Englishwoman who was then working at a Hyderabad Welfare Centre run by an inter-communal committee of Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians and Parsis. She had asked me to get Gandhi to give her a message. So he enclosed in his letter to me this little prayer, which she framed and put in her Centre."

[3] The addressee had sought Gandhiji's permission to go back to Khurja to attend to his ailing son.

[4] *Vide* p 443.

487. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

September 12, 1934

MY DEAR BROTHER,

It is just 3 a.m. This is the first letter I take up after mouth wash. My whole heart goes out to you all. Who am I to judge your delicate and domestic affairs? You have granted me the unique privilege of knowing your secrets. I may not abuse it. I do not know the implications of the actualities as they happen. But this mute warfare must cease, if you and Raihana are to have peace. If I were you, I would either let her have her way ungrudgingly and joyously or give her a separate house and maintenance and let her have her way. She is too much of an invalid to be left to her own resources. I should not bother about Hamida, she is no freak like Raihana. Raihana has no marriage in store for her. So far as I am aware she is a stranger to the sensuous passion. I wish I could give you a cheery letter, but I cannot. Having read this you would do as [the] Great Spirit guides[1] you. With deep love to you all.

Yours,
M. K. G.

ABBAS TYABJI
BARODA

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

488. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

September 12, 1934

CHI. MARY,

I have your letter full of information about your activities. Here is a little note[2] for Miss Linforth. It is written on hand-made paper of which I happen to possess a few sheets.

You can certainly send Mira's letter to your sister and when

[1] The source has "guards".
[2] *Vide* "A Prayer", p. 436.

you write to her please give her my love. So far as I am aware she owes me a letter.

I should not consider you to be buried in your books uselessly when you are studying Hindi for the sake of your work.

You will duly report to me how your cotton seeds have behaved.[1]

The wise use you can make of the flesh of a dead cow is to extract tallow from it which can be used in a variety of ways. The bones can be used as manure.[2]

I am sending your letter to Jamnalalji.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat. G N. 6028. Also C W. 3357. Courtesy. F. Mary Barr

489. LETTER TO DR. B. V. MULAY

September 12, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

In continuation of my letter to you regarding your complaint about the Sholapur Dispensary, I have now a letter from the Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Maharashtra Board, from which I find that the grant was being voted and was given only after Thakkar Bapa had inspected everything and satisfied himself about it. In the circumstances the only thing that I can say to you is that if you are not satisfied with this recommendation, you have to write to the President of the Central Board at Delhi. As you may know, I have no official status in the Sangh. My connection therefore is purely moral. It is only on rare occasions that I tender my advice to the Board. In this connection I don't feel called upon to do anything beyond what I have done.

Yours sincerely,

DR. B. V. MULAY, M.S.
SHOLAPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] In *Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence*, p 89, the addressee explains: "The reference to cotton seed was concerning some experiments I was making in growing a certain kind of cotton which had not previously been grown in the district."

[2] "The advice about the use of a dead cow must have been for some village man, for I had no cow, either dead or alive" (*ibid*).

490. LETTER TO B. J. MARATHEY

Spetember 12, 1934

DEAR MARATHEY,

I have your prompt letter in reply to mine[1] of 6th instant. I have now written a suitable letter[2] to Dr. Mulay.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

491. LETTER TO SAUDAMINI MEHTA

September 12, 1934

CHI. SAUDAMINI,

I got your letter.

I agree with you that if I knew as much about . . .'s[3] case as I do about . . .'s, my opinion would perhaps soften. I made the remarks in question when I read . . .'s defence and . . .'s outpouring of her grief. However, if I became more intimate with all the persons involved, I would perhaps have a better understanding of their points of view. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that before criticizing anybody's action one must go deep into the matter. Since this is not easy to do, the golden rule is not to criticize anybody. I know how to follow this rule and rarely criticize people, though it is true of course that I occasionally pass hasty criticism on persons with whom I am connected in some way. I am still not free from that measure of attachment. Such subtle attachments cannot be overcome by an act of will. They weaken gradually through prolonged effort.

Let me give you some more information about . . .'s case. Even today all his elders except . . . are against his marrying again. If I had not supported his intention, the idea of second marriage would have been abandoned. I came to know . . . first. The moment I saw her, I felt that a girl like her was unfit for conjugal life and that she would never be able to satisfy

[1] *Vide* p. 415.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] This and other names have been omitted.

. . . sexually. Before I came to know her and take interest in her life, she used to tremble in . . .'s presence, talked with none and always wore an unhappy look. Now she talks frankly with everybody and can even joke. She expresses her views quite freely. She and . . . gave me their letters to each other to read. The sole cause of her worry is the fact that . . . has not taken another wife. As long as he has not done so, she does not feel herself safe in her relations with him and with their elders. Other members of the family keep taunting her for her inability to satisfy . . .. She, on her part, being a loving girl, keeps thinking about her inability and feels miserable. I doubt if you have come across any other instance like hers. Being a woman yourself, you can certainly claim to know a woman's heart better than I do. But as against that I can claim many years' longer experience than yours. Though a man, I have been striving for many years to reach women's heart, cultivating and preserving complete passionlessness. As a result, I have had intimate knowledge of the lives of hundreds of women of every class and religion and of different countries of the world. I know of several instances in which women urged their husbands to marry again. This is not a peculiarity of Hindu women. You will perhaps be surprised to know that such instances are to be found in England also.

I have a motive in writing such a long letter to you even under all this pressure of work. I am pleased that you have taken interest in this matter. . . . had been after me. She also had expressed her pain. I have promised her that I would welcome a deputation of women headed by her and put this case before them. For me this is an issue of dharma. It is one of my experiments in truth. I feel no shame about what I am doing. I am not taking interest in this case because of the bond of friendship. This is part of my service of women. I think of . . . as a helpless cow. I should like to protect her as much as I can. I want the help of you women in that task. That is, if in the name of dharma I am in fact yielding to self-delusion of any kind and following a course contrary to dharma, please wake me up and save me. If, therefore, you can keep up your interest in this case, meet . . . and discuss the matter with her and then three or four of you may come and see me. I will put my case before you and listen to what you have to say. I am not concerned with what happens to . . . or . . . as individuals. Such cases will always arise. Ill-matched unions are no rarity in this country. I have told . . . that when her body has deve-

loped and grown to the size natural for her age and if she feels sexual desire then and wishes to remarry, I will be ready to help her at any cost to myself. If, however, despite . . . having married a second time she prefers to live with him and if . . . is inclined to agree to that, I shall be helpless. . . .'s father would of course desire that she should share his bed even though he might have another wife. My effort is to save both of them from such a position. This is a very complicated case. In solving it I shall be solving many problems. I, therefore, do not mind giving my time to it.

I don't know if I am imposing an unwelcome burden on you through this letter. If you do not wish to go so deep into the matter, you need not reply to it. Please consider the letter to have been written by me more for my satisfaction than for yours. I seem to feel that I know my dharma, but I am always liable to err in my reasoning. I, therefore, cling to any person who points out my error. This has saved me from many errors.

SAUDAMINI GAGANVIHARI MEHTA
CALCUTTA

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy. Narayan Desai

492. *LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI*

September 12, 1934

. . .[1] God will restore you. Keep repeating the name of Him whose *das*[2] you are considered to be, that is, to whom your name signifies that you have been dedicated. Know that Ramanama is the only remedy that never fails. There is no remedy like peace of mind. Who has ever escaped birth, death, old age and disease? They are inseparable from the body. If, however, we preserve equality of mind towards them, they will seem the same though in fact different. . . .[3]

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] & [3] Omissions as in the source
[2] Servant

493. LETTER TO RAGHUVIR NARAYAN SINGH

September 12, 1934

BHAI CHOUDHRIJI,

I had your letter. I withheld the reply till the Working Committee had met. In my opinion, we cannot, under any circumstance, apply for the release. But I hear that the application is only a formality and release will be granted for certain. If this is correct and you are so inclined, you may apply. But under no condition should the application be sent up if there is the slightest doubt about its acceptance. It is also implied that in case of rejection of any one application all are to be withdrawn. The announcement of the Provincial Board should be awaited.

CHOUDHRI RAGHUVIR NARAYAN SINGH
HAPUR

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

494. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHARMA

September 12, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

Your letter. I also saw your letter to Prabhavati regarding the keys.

I was already apprehensive about catching fever. Anyway, it is now a fact and I hope it will be only to the good. It was quite right to get him[1] treated by the doctors. You have to be patient. The doctor's instructions must be adhered to, you have only to turn yourself into a nurse and follow them. This augurs well in every way. God alone controls the results. I must get a letter from you daily.

For the time being, how can I even mention South Africa? But I shall keep up the effort of clearing the way and we shall wait and watch.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48*, facing p. 93

[1] Ramdas Gandhi; *vide* also the following item.

495. LETTER TO HIRALAL SHARMA

September 13, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I read your letter after cleaning my teeth. I could not go through the whole of it yesterday. Such is my plight these days! I have replied to your wire of yesterday.[1] The same answer holds for today too. Be patient. If you move from there, Ramdas's health will deteriorate. This is my opinion from a distance. Surendra is there on the spot, his advice must be followed. What I mean is that you should be a silent nurse. As long as Ramdas is happy with you, you must remain at his side even facing the insults of the doctors. Go on informing of all the developments. Tolerate Ba. I had forewarned you about the developments there. It will be good even now to send Kanu here. But in all this you must be guided by Surendra. Being far away, I am in a quandary.

I am aware that people are scared of me. That is why I want to dissociate myself from the Congress and for the same reason I like to live away from people; but all this cannot be forced. Everything will be as God wills. Your last remark is wholly right. Who am I to become responsible for the destiny of India or of any man?

But despite this, my ignorant attachment may be pushing me unwittingly into such illusions.

If, after considering all circumstances, you think you must leave Ramdas, you should visit me on your way. We shall then discuss about Draupadi and the children. I too am concerned with their welfare. But we shall not be hasty in anything, we shall discuss the future too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, 1932-48*, between pp. 96 and 97

[1] *Vide* p. 436.

466. MORE ON SWADESHI

I would like to resume the thread of my remarks on swadeshi in the *Harijan* of 10th August.[1] Take the special occupations of Harijans. There is a meaning behind the over two thousand Harijan castes. Most of them denote their respective occupations —basket-making, broom-making, rope-weaving, durri-weaving, etc. If a complete list was made of them, they would make an imposing list. They are occupations which either need encouragement, or should be deliberately destroyed if they are useless or unprofitable. But who is to decide whether they are profitable or unprofitable, useless or otherwise? If there was a true swadeshi organization, it would be its duty to find out the truth about all these innumerable handicrafts and interest themselves in these craftsmen. The ink with which I am writing comes from Tenali. It supports about 12 workers. It is making headway against odds. I had three more specimens sent to me by different makers, all no doubt struggling like the Tenali group. They interested me. I entered into correspondence with them. But I could do no more for them. A swadeshi organization will examine the samples of these inks in a scientific manner and guide them and encourage the most promising ones. It is a good and growing industry, requiring expert chemical knowledge.

In Cawnpore, a man sent me samples of the paper his friend was manufacturing in a village nearby. I enquired into the concern. It supports about nine men. The paper was stout and glossy. However, it was not good enough for writing. Men engaged in the manufacture are eking out the barest livelihood. The skill is supplied by an old man nearing the crematorium. The whole concern may perish with him, if it is not properly guided. I was told that, if there were enough orders, the paper could be supplied at the same cost as the mill-made article. I know that hand-made paper can never supply the daily growing demand for paper. But lovers of the seven hundred thousand villages and their handicrafts will always want to use hand-made paper, if it is easily procurable. Those who use hand-made paper know that it has a charm of its own. Who does not know the famous Ahmedabad paper? What mill-made paper can beat it in durability or polish!

[1] *Vide* pp. 293-4.

The account books of the old style are still made of that paper. But it is probably a perishing industry like many such others. With a little encouragement, it ought never to perish. If there was supervision, the processes might be improved and the defects that are to be noticed with some of this hand-made paper may be easily removed. The economic condition of the numberless people engaged in these little known trades is well worth investigating. They will surely allow themselves to be guided and advised and feel thankful to those who would take interest in them.

I hope I have given enough illustrations to show how vast[1] and uncultivated this field of true swadeshi is. It is capable of limitless expansion and of producing, without any capital outlay, new wealth in the country and providing honourable employment to those who are today starving for want of it.

Harijan, 14-9-1934

497. *WHY NOT 'HARIJAN'?*

TO

THE EDITOR, "HARIJAN"

SIR,

I was rather pained to find that the keen intellect of Mr. Mahadev Desai missed the real point involved in the representation made by "some friends who met Gandhiji claiming to be representatives of the Harijans or rather 'Depressed Classes' as they preferred to call them" (See *Harijan* of August 10, '34, p. 206, col. 2).[2] The "bad odour" attaching to the term 'Depressed Classes' is a surety of its ultimate extinction and complete disappearance along with the development of consciousness amongst these classes leading to the unification and consequent solidification of the general Hindu community at large, which, we all know, is the aim of Gandhiji in his great and unique endeavour. But the sweetness of the term "Harijan" is likely to perpetuate the gulf between them and the *savarna* Hindus, which is surely not desired by Gandhiji. This point should have been noticed by Mr Mahadev Desai, whose use of the adjective 'curious' appears to be remarkable and at the same time regrettable, coming as it does from one of the closest associates of Gandhiji.

I myself feel interested in the matter as one belonging to this

[1] The source has "best".

[2] *Vide* pp. 214-5.

great class, but feel indifferent to the appellation that others may choose to give, excepting, of course, the result it is likely to have on the future position of the great community in the large Hindu fold

Will you kindly show this to Mr Mahadev Desai?

I am, etc,
H. K. MULLICK

Mahadev Desai has passed the foregoing to me. I know Sjt. Mullick, as I had the pleasure of meeting him in Calcutta during the recent visit. I can share his nervousness and his preference for an odious appellation so long as the stigma of untouchability persists. But I invite Sjt. Mullick to enter into the feeling of reformers who have no untouchability in them and who, therefore, have a horror of using an odious name for those whom they love and are eager to serve to the best of their ability. Add to this the fact that tens of thousands of untouchables do not like the words *achhut*, *asprishya* and the like and that they do like the word 'Harijan'. The aim of us all is the same—total extinction of untouchability. When that happy day arrives, either the word 'Harijan' will disappear or we shall all be proud to be called Harijans —devotees of God—deserving to be so described, having been free of the virus of high and low.

Harijan, 14-9-1934

498. *NOT ARGUMENT, BUT EXPERIENCE*

For me non-violence, like Truth, is my eternal creed for every activity. That I often fail to act up to it in many activities in my dealings with the sub-human family proves my weakness; it cannot and does not affect the truth of the creed or my faith in it. I am but a weak aspirant ever failing, ever trying. My failures make me more vigilant than before and intensify my faith. I can see with the eye of faith that the observance of the twin doctrine of Truth and Non-violence has possibilities of which we have but a very inadequate conception.

If these two should pervade the whole of our being, how much more in the purely religious war against untouchability? I, therefore, gladly share with Harijan workers the following extracts from an intimate letter received from an American friend who discloses the working of his mind and declares his faith in non-violence achieved, though, perhaps, not yet fully, after laborious search:

You may have gathered from my last conversation with you that I was turning from my faith in the principle of non-violence. I had been troubled by doubts concerning this principle, and that was why I wanted so much to talk with you I think that was very foolish of me, for, it should be evident that great moral and spiritual truths can never have their validity established through arguments. They have to be tested in the fire of experience, which I have not done in my own life to any large extent. I am persuaded that it would require a much stricter discipline than I have yet known for me to prove by my own experience that non-violence is eternally true.

But I am able to accept it as one of the great fundamentals of my faith by my observation of the fruits it has produced in the lives of others To associate intimately with such men as Rajendrababu is a privilege for which one may thank God. I have seen that he and several others whom I might mention, who have accepted the principle of non-violence in their own lives, have been able to purify themselves from all the greed, the lust, the self-seeking, the hatred, the fear which obsesses so many who have caught a vision of a glorious future but are obstructed by these enemies within the gates from fighting successfully with the enemy without. It is not what non-violence has done to those who oppose you that is to me significant, but what it has done for you and that very small minority who have in their hearts become non-violent. Since I believe this is a moral universe, it must follow, as night follows day, that such development of character can never arise out of experiments with falsehood, and, by the same token, I believe that Jesus is right, at least in the long run, when he says that "they who take the sword will perish by the sword".

. . .[1] I am certain that the only virtue which you need to exercise for the ultimate success of your struggle is that of patience.

. . .[2] So far as your own leadership in India is concerned, you did not develop your qualities of leadership in a day, nor were you born with these qualities. I consider that you are the product of a long discipline of supreme loyalty to truth as you saw it and that you have arrived at your present position through a long and arduous experience. While Europeans may be untrained in the exercise of non-violence, I do not think human nature is essentially different in Europe from that of India, and the only way they can learn non-violence is through practice. There are bound to be many failures, many heart-breaks, many defeats, as has been true and is still true in your case. But if it is truth, it can never be forsaken.

Harijan, 14-9-1934

[1]&[2] Omissions as in the source

499. ALMOST LIKE HARIJANS

An Andhra graduate who has married a *devadasi* writes:

I wanted to write to you long ago. But I was awfully shy. Thank God! I am at last confiding my burden to you.

I come from the *devadasi* community. My life was socially a torture. Gandhiji, do you think there is any other profession worse than that of the dancing girls in the universe? Is it not a blot on India that prostitution should personify in a community?

Andhradesa, I think, is the heart of this evil. Hindu society here engages dancing girls—especially during marriages and festivals of the deity—to sing obscene songs accompanied by obscene gestures before the pious deity and sets a bad example before the newly-wed couple.

The misery of a whole community consigned to a life of prostitution is great. Young men here are trying their best to root out this evil. But they badly need help and guidance. Won't you kindly take up this matter as equally important and emergent as the Harijan movement? Please have this affair always in a corner of your heart and give it publicity. You have not only the Congress, but the whole public opinion at your back. What the Brothels Bill and the I. P C. could not do I am confident that a word from your mouth would do.

I am legally and religiously married to a girl of my own community and I am a father of two daughters My wife is as pious in my eyes as any other Hindu wife. Still society looks down upon us. The sins of our ancestors are wreaking vengeance on us. The stigma of prostitution is attached to us, though both of us are free from the vice.

Harijans and *devadasis* are the only two communities which are almost in the same degree of depravity. Of course, they will have to help themselves to moral elevation Still a teacher like you would educate them and the society more quickly than they can do it for themselves. These are two sister movements. Please don't forget the sister community in your enthusiasm for the Harijans.

I wish I had the ability he ascribes to me. I am painfully conscious of my limitations. The correspondent is perhaps unaware that, when I was editing *Young India*, I used constantly to refer to the *devadasi* institution and prostitution in general.[1] But

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXI, pp. 104-6, Vol. XXVI, pp. 516-7 and Vol. XLI, pp. 337-8.

my effort did not root out the evil. It would only bring relief in individual cases. If I now refer to the question in the pages of *Harijan*, it is not because I have any hope of faring better than I did during the *Young India* days. I shall be pleased if this fresh effort brings relief in individual cases.

The correspondent is quite right in likening *devadasis* to Harijans. Nevertheless, he will recognize the difference there is between the two. But it is waste of time to measure the degree of difference in wretchedness. Like untouchability, this institution for the perpetuation of vice must go, if Hinduism is to be purified. Those who are engaged in the noble task of ridding society of the evil will have to work in a systematic manner and not become dispirited if they do not find their effort crowned with success at once. Let them concentrate on the evil immediately surrounding them. There are two ways of working at the problem. These should be work amongst those who employ *devadasis* for their base end and the *devadasi* community itself. If the latter will refuse to serve society's vice, the system ends at once. But the process is not quite so simple. Hunger knows no sin. Even like Drona and Bhishma, *devadasis* point to their bellies in justification of sin. Habit has dulled their sense of sin regarding their calling. Therefore, they have to be found an innocent source of livelihood in the place of prostitution. Then, there is work in the society. Festival and marriage parties in which *devadasis* are employed have to be sought out and those in charge reasoned with. Reformers may not dictate reform to society. They will have to appeal to its reason and heart. In a way, all reform is a kind of education, just as essential as the education which is commonly known as such. Hence it is a science by itself and yields results only when systematically pursued.

The correspondent who has dared to marry a *devadasi* deserves to be congratulated. He should be satisfied with the approbation of his own conscience and live down the prejudice against him and his wife.

Harijan, 14-9-1934

500. CABLE TO MIRABEHN

September 14, 1934

MIRABEHN
CARE KALOPH[1]
LONDON

IF KAMLANI WILL, BRING HIM WITH YOU. STAY IF POSSIBLE TILL ANDREWS'S ARRIVAL OCTOBER TWENTIETH. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6298. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9764

501. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

September 14, 1934

. . .[2]

Is that all right?

But I hope to obtain part of this amount from Dhulia. If I succeed, we shall credit it to the Cow-protection Society, but it seems right to me that the Society should meet Parnerkar's requirements. Let me know whether you agree with this view.

I am writing to Sheth Mathuradas.

Read my letter to Lilavati and pass it on to her. I have already made my suggestion regarding Chimanlal. I still adhere to it.

Ramdas had an attack of malaria in Sabarmati. He is better now.

I understood from Kanu's last letter that he was perfectly happy there. If he wishes to come here, send him over as soon as you get this letter. What will he get from me, though? His study will be neglected. There will be nothing but hard work for him here. There is so much work that nobody gets any free time. If he can look upon work itself as study and be content, he may certainly come. Even if he merely wants to have some experience and see for himself how things are, I will not mind. Bal got tired;

[1] Anagram for Henry Polak

[2] In the source, the first ten lines or so of this letter have faded out, having been written in green ink

Kanti was wise and on his own did not come and Prithuraj is getting ready to leave. From all these instances I have come to the conclusion that only a few persons, who have had sufficient education to satisfy their ambition, can stay with me for any length of time. I would be happy if it is different with Kanu. I see my own imperfection in the fact that young people soon get tired of living with me and leave. But I don't know exactly the reason why they do so.

Many many blessings to you on the occasion of your birthday. Sardar also sends his. He is sitting beside me.

. . .[1] has been found to be a worthless man. He is given to lust. He even tells lies. Much, therefore, of what I credited him with was nothing but show.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U /I. Also C.W. 8414. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

502. *LETTER TO JAMNABEHN GANDHI*

September 14, 1934

CHI. JAMNA,

I got your letter. Equanimity of mind cannot be learnt from anybody. One can cultivate it by constantly keeping it before one's mind when acting. Rather than overstrain yourself, you should spend some money in engaging a servant whom you can treat as a member of the family. You ought not to put any burden on Devbhabhi. I see some discontent regarding Santok. You should tell her about it and then suffer it. This, too, you can do by engaging a servant. It is part of the teaching of the *Gita* that one should endure what is inescapable.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] The name has been omitted

503. LETTER TO ATMARAM

September 14, 1934

BHAI ATMARAM,

This is my reply to your letter. The deeper I go into the matter the more clearly I see Balvantrai's sincerity. Your suspecting your own friend doesn't seem proper. If you still harbour suspicion, you may certainly see Bhai Balvantrai. I will not write to him any more and give him pain. I have seen that you are by nature inclined to suspicion and exaggeration.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

504. LETTER TO . . .[1]

September 14, 1934

CHI. . . .,

I have your letter. You must not give way to despair. You must resolve to exercise self-control till a suitable partner is found. You must not fail.

. . .

CALCUTTA

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

505. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

September 15, 1934

BHAISHRI MAVALANKAR,

I have your letter.

There is no connection between the Vidyapith library and Kaka's idea of leaving Gujarat. If the original Trustees had no right to hand over the library, its gift would remain illegal even if made at a meeting attended by all. If you think that the

[1] The addressee's name has been omitted.

Trustees had a right to make the gift, I believe Sardar wishes to take no action regarding Kaka's other error. Being one of the Trustees, he only wants to know what his duty is. I don't think anything can be said about that. But personally I wouldn't blame Kaka for this ignorance of law if it is such.

The serious error committed by Kaka, maybe unintentionally, was that, though he had not secured the consent of the Trustees, he allowed a sentence implying that it had been secured to stand in the letter[1] to the Collector. Kaka decided to atone for this carelessness by resigning from all the trusts. Sardar has had nothing to do with this.

However, Kaka's resignation only solved the moral problem and has no connection whatever with the question of whether or not he should remain in Gujarat. He has been waiting for a long time to run away from Gujarat. We need not go into the reasons for that. But the final decision whether he should leave or not rests with me. Sardar will have had no part in it. I will not let Kaka run away. He will leave only if I feel helpless. You and other co-workers, however, should have no worry or fear.

You should merely give your professional opinion as a lawyer as to the legal loophole.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1239; also S.N. 22855

[1] This was drafted by Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. LV, Addenda II, p. 472. *Vide* also pp. 265-6 and 339-40.

ADDENDUM

LETTER TO SARITA

May 31, 1934

CHI. SARITA,

I have your letter. It was good that you wrote to me. I am glad you are undergoing Dr. [Hiralal] Sharma's treatment. Stick to it. Don't think there is anything wrong in staying with Nimu. There is no need to believe in that superstition. The custom of not having even water at the daughter's place was good for those parents who threw their daughters in the ditch because of greed. They did not, however, reform their evil practice. Moreover my relations with you are not of today. They go back to Amritlal's time. So you should have no hesitation whatever in staying with Ramdas.

Still, if you can get better treatment by staying with Dr. Sharma, certainly do so.

Now that you have started writing, keep it up.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: G.N. 11528

ADDENDUM-II

LETTER TO KASHI PRASAD DIXIT

June 25, 1934

BHAI KASHIPRASAD,

I have your letter. How can I pass judgment without hearing the other side? I have never found Tandonji[1] being deliberately unjust to anyone.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

From the Hindi original: C. W. 3070. Courtesy: Kashi Prasad Dixit. Also G.N. 5847

[1] Purushottamdas Tandon

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

RESOLUTION ON WHITE PAPER AND COMMUNAL AWARD[1]

The following is the authorized report of the Working Committee resolution on the policy of Congress regarding the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award:

The Congress Parliamentary Board having asked the Working Committee to enunciate the Congress policy on the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award, the Working Committee declares the Congress policy on these matters as follows:

The White Paper in no way expresses the will of the people of India, has been more or less condemned by almost all the Indian political parties, and falls far short of the Congress goal, if it does not retard the progress towards it. The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible, with the power, if necessary, to the important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by the electors belonging to such minorities.

The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically Among other things it will be the duty of the Constituent Assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provisions for otherwise safeguarding their interests.

Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the Communal Award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude on it. The Congress claims to represent equally all the communities composing the Indian Nation and, therefore, in view of division of opinion it can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion lasts. At the same time it is necessary to redeclare the policy of the Congress on the Communal question.

No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution falling short of the national, which is agreed to by all the parties concerned, and, conversely to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.

Judged by the national standard the Communal Award is wholly unsatisfactory besides being open to serious objection on other grounds.

[1] *Vide* pp. 83, 255-7 and 317

It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore the ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-6-1934

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM N C KELKAR[1]

"KESARI" OFFICE, POONA 2,
June 22, 1934

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

The people in the Indian States desire to ascertain your individual opinion on certain matters affecting themselves, so that we may move the Congress to consider, in the light of your opinion, the desirability of defining its policy on certain questions more precisely than at present and modifying it somewhat on certain others.

The first question that we would bring to your notice in this connection is the necessity of the Congress taking up for solution problems pertaining to the States The Congress has now given up its traditional policy of "keeping itself unspotted" from the States It recruits members in the States and brings them under the control of its district and provincial committees The accession of strength that it has thus received from the States is by no means negligible, nor are these members sleeping partners in the Congress activities, although these activities concern mostly British India alone On the other hand, even in such movements as civil disobedience, they have proved good comrades-in-arms and have cheerfully borne their share of the burden, realizing that British India and Indian India are essentially one and indivisible and that the concerns of one are necessarily the concerns of the other also.

We think that time has now arrived for the Congress to respond to this spirit of good comradeship exhibited by the States' people by putting all its weight and prestige behind their efforts at self-emancipation. At the Madras (1927) and Calcutta (1928) sessions the Congress no doubt pleaded for the establishment of democratic swaraj in the Indian States and extended its sympathy to the inhabitants thereof. The Calcutta resolution is well worth quoting here in exteno.

> The Congress urges on the ruling Princes of the Indian States to introduce responsible government based on representative institutions in the States, and to issue immediately proclamations or enact laws gua-

[1] *Vide* pp. 136-7.

ranteeing elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship, such as rights of association, free speech, free Press and security of person and property.

This Congress further assures the people of the Indian States of its sympathy with and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government in the States.

We make no doubt that a similar resolution will be reiterated at the sessions that will be held hereafter. But may we not hope that the Congressmen in British India will lend active help to the people in the Indian States in achieving political freedom even as the Congressmen in Indian India gave a measure of help to British Indians in their attempts to realize their destiny? Of the two, British Indians are much the more advanced, but in fact help has flown far more from the States' people to British Indians than from British Indians to the States' people. Do you not think it desirable to advise British Indians, in the name of the Congress to support actively, even by undergoing suffering if necessary, all legitimate movements for the establishment of popular government in the Indian States under the aegis of their rulers? Such comradeship shown on both sides, it appears to us, will cement the two Indians far more firmly than any formal federation can.

Another question, of even greater urgency, on which the Congress must determine its policy is its attitude towards those parts of the White Paper scheme which relate to the Indian States. The authorities of the Congress have declared the scheme to be unacceptable because it does not satisfy the aspirations of the Indian people May we say that the provisions concerning the States are far from acceptable to the States' people and may we hope that the actual acceptance or otherwise of these provisions will be made to depend upon their wishes? The future constitution of India which, according to the Congress intentions, is to take the place of the White Paper constitution, will be based upon the principle of self-determination given effect to by a Constituent Assembly. Is it implied that the federal scheme that will be evolved by this Assembly will be the result of an agreement between the people in British India on the one hand and those in the Indian States on the other?

While on this subject it would be well to refer to the apprehensions that have arisen in the mind of the Indian States' people by some passages in your speeches at the Round Table Conference You pleaded earnestly in this Conference with the rulers of the Indian States for allowing the States representatives in the Federal Legislature to be chosen by election and for allowing the fundamental rights of the States' people to be written into the federal constitution and placed under the protection of the Federal Court. But your pleadings on this occasion have given rise to an impression that if the Princes did not agree, as they did not and they do not agree, you would accept a constitution in which provisions of the kind that you suggested did not find a place. If this impression is well-founded, we cannot help saying,

and saying it straightout, that you have done a grave wrong to the States' people. If you think that nomination by the Princes, for instance, must be acquiesced in, if necessary, in the existing circumstances, we will only beg you to refer the matter to the States' people themselves in order to ascertain what their wishes are in this respect. The right of self-determination of the Indian States' people is no less sacred than that of British Indians.

But it has been explained to us that in expressing your views in favour of the election of the States' representatives and the protection of the fundamental rights of the States' people in the way you did, you wished it to be understood by the rulers of the States that if they did not agree to do what you urged upon them, you would not admit them into the federation. You meant these to be essential conditions of federation, but you did not express yourself in this categorical manner only because, at the time you spoke, federation was still shrouded in uncertainty. If this be your meaning, we would entreat you to make it clear beyond the possibility of doubt, for we know that the rulers of the States are putting a ditterent interpretation upon what you said. They are representing that you are ready to put up with nomination by the Princes, for instance, for an indefinite length of time. It is necessary that your meaning should be made plain, for the Swarajist Conference at Ranchi made it known that their party (which is now only a wing of the Congress) would follow the lines of your speeches in framing the future constitution. Since, in the final determination of the Congress policy on these points your personal views plays such a decisive part, we are anxious to know whether election of the States' people and Declaration of Rights in their interest are, in your opinion, merely desirable features of a federation or essential conditions thereof. There are various other matters connected with the federal constitution which require careful consideration on the part of the Congress, but we do not wish to trouble you with them at the present moment. We would only beg you to give us an unequivocal statement of your views on the point raised in this letter.

Yours sincerely,

(SD.) N. C. KELKAR AND OTHERS

The Hindu, 10-7-1934

APPENDIX III

RESOLUTION ON SWADESHI[1]

Doubts having arisen on the Congress policy in regard to swadeshi, it has become necessary to reaffirm the Congress position on it in unequivocal terms.

Notwithstanding what was done during the civil resistance struggle, no competition is permissible on Congress platform and in Congress exhibitions between mill-made cloth and hand-spun and hand-woven khadi Congressmen are expected to use and encourage the use of only hand-spun and hand-woven khadi, to the exclusion of any other cloth.

In regard to articles other than cloth, the Working Committee adopts the following formula for the guidance of all Congress organizations:

The Working Committee is of opinion that the activities of Congress organizations relating to swadeshi shall be restricted to useful articles manufactured in India through cottage and other small industries which are in need of popular education for their support, and which will accept the guidance of the Congress organizations in regulating prices and in the matter of the wages and welfare of labour under their control.

This formula must not be interpreted to mean any modification of the unbroken policy of the Congress to promote the swadeshi spirit in the country and to encourage the personal use of only swadeshi articles. The formula is a recognition of the fact that the large and organized industries which can or do command State aid are in no need of the services of Congress organizations or any Congress effort in their behalf.

The History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. I, pp. 576-7

APPENDIX IV

RESOLUTION ON DISCIPLINE[2]

All Congressmen, whether they believe in the Congress programme and policies or not, are expected, and office-bearers and members of the Executive are in honour bound, to carry them out, and that office-bearers and members of the Executive who carry on propaganda or act against the Congress programme and policies are, in accordance with the rules made by the A.I.C.C. dated May 24, 1929, under Article XXXI of the Constitution, clearly guilty of breach of discipline and liable to disciplinary action.

The History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. I, pp. 577

[1] *Vide* pp. 285-6 and 293-4.
[2] *Vide* p. 287.

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU[1]

ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD,
August 13, 1934

MY DEAR BAPU,

After just six months of absolute seclusion and little exercise I have felt rather lost in the anxiety, excitement and activity of the past 27 hours. I feel very tired I am writing this letter to you at midnight. All day there have been crowds of people coming. If I have the chance I shall write to you again, but I doubt if I shall be able to do so for some months. I am, therefore, going to indicate to you briefly how I have reacted to the various major Congress decisions of the last five months or so My sources of information have naturally been strictly limited but I think that they were sufficient to enable me to form a fairly correct idea of the general trend of events

When I heard that you had called off the C. D. movement I felt unhappy. Only the brief announcement reached me at first. Much later I read your statement and this gave me one of the biggest shocks I have ever had. I was prepared to reconcile myself to the withdrawal of C D. But the reasons you gave for doing so and the suggestions you made for future work astounded me. I had a sudden and intense feeling, that something broke inside me, a bond that I had valued very greatly had snapped. I felt terribly lonely in this wide world. I have always felt a little lonely almost from childhood up. But a few bonds strengthened me, a few strong supports held me up That loneliness never went, but it was lessened. But now I felt absolutely alone, left high and dry on a desert island.

Human beings have an enormous capacity for adapting themselves and so I too adapted myself to some extent to the new conditions. The keenness of my feelings on the subject, which amounted almost to physical pain, passed off; the edge was dulled. But shock after shock, a succession of events sharpened that edge to a fine point, and allowed my mind or feelings no peace or rest. Again I felt that sensation of spiritual isolation, of being a perfect stranger out of harmony, not only with the crowds that passed me, but also with those whom I had valued as dear and close comrades. My stay in prison this time became a greater ordeal for my nerves than any previous visit had been. I almost wished that all newspapers might be kept away from me so that I might be spared these repeated shocks.

[1] *Vide* pp. 317-9 and 329-30.

Physically I kept fairly well. I always do in prison. My body has served me well and can stand a great deal of ill-treatment and strain. And being vain enough to imagine that perhaps I might yet do some effective work in this land to which fate had tied me, I looked after it well.

But I wondered often enough if I was not a square peg in a round hole, or a bubble of conceit thrown about hither and thither on an ocean which spurned me. But vanity and conceit triumphed and the intellectual apparatus that functions within me refused to admit defeat. If the ideals that had spurred me to action and had kept me buoyed up through stormy weather were right—and the conviction of their rightness ever grew within me—they were bound to triumph though my generation might not live to witness that triumph.

But what had happened to those ideals during these long and weary months of this year when I was a silent and distant witness, fretting at my helplessness? Setbacks and temporary defeats are common enough in all great struggles. They grieve but one recovers soon enough. One recovers soon if the light of those ideals is not allowed to grow dim and the anchor of principles holds fast But what I saw was not setback and defeat but that spiritual defeat which is the most terrible of all. Do not imagine that I am referring to the council-entry question. I do not attach vital importance to it. Under certain circumstances I can even imagine entering a legislature myself. But whether I function inside or outside the legislature I function as a revolutionary, meaning thereby a person working for the fundamental and revolutionary changes, political and social, for I am convinced that no other changes can bring peace or satisfaction to India and the world.

So I thought. Not so evidently the leaders who were functioning outside. They began to talk the language of an age gone by before the heady wine of N. C. O. and C. D. had fired our heads. Sometimes they used the same words and phrases but they were dead words without life or real meaning. The leading figures of the Congress suddenly became those people who had obstructed us, held us back, kept aloof from the struggle and even co-operated with the opposite party in the time of our direct need They became the high priests in our temple of freedom and many a brave soldier who had shouldered the burden in the heat and dust of the fray was not even allowed inside the temple precincts. He and many like him had become untouchables and unapproachables. And if he ventured to raise his voice and criticize the new high priests, he was shouted down and told that he was a traitor to the cause because he spoilt the harmony of the sacred precincts.

And so the flag of Indian freedom was entrusted with all pomp and circumstance to those who had actually hauled it down at the height of our national struggle at the bidding of the enemy; to those who had proclaimed from the house-tops that they had given up politics—for politics were unsafe then—but who emerged with a jump to the front ranks when politics became safe.

And what of the ideals they set forth before them, speaking as they did on behalf of the Congress and the nation? A pitiful hotch-potch, avoiding real issues, toning down, as far as they dared, even the political objective of the Congress, expressing a tender solicitude for every vested interest, bowing down to many a declared enemy of freedom, but showing great truculence and courage in facing the advanced and fighting elements in the Congress ranks Is not the Congress being rapidly reduced to a magnified edition of that shameful spectacle, the Calcutta Corporation during the last few years? Might not the dominant part of the Bengal Congress be called today "the society for the advancement of Mr Nalini Ranjan Sirkar", a gentleman who rejoiced to entertain Government officials, Home Members and the like, when most of us were in prison and C. D. was supposed to be flourishing? And the other part probably a similar society for a similar laudable object? But the fault does not lie with Bengal alone. Almost everywhere there is a similar outlook. The Congress from top to bottom is a caucus and opportunism triumphs.

The Working Committee is not directly responsible for this state of affairs. But none the less the Working Committee must shoulder the responsibility. It is the leaders and their policy that shape the activities of the followers. It is neither fair nor just to throw blame on the followers. Every language has some saying about the workman blaming his tools The committee had deliberately encouraged vagueness in the definition of our ideals and objectives and this is bound to lead not only to confusion but to demoralization during periods of reaction, and to the emergence of the demagogue and the reactionary.

I am referring especially to the political objectives which are the special province of the Congress. I feel that the time is overdue for the Congress to think clearly on social and economic issues but I recognize that education on these issues takes time and the Congress as a whole may not be able to go as far at present as I would like it to But it appears that whether the Working Committee knows anything about the subject or not it is perfectly willing to denounce and to excommunicate people who happen to have made a special study of the subject and hold certain views. No attempt is made to understand those views, which, it is notorious, are held by a very large number of the ablest and most self-sacrificing people in the world. Those views may be right or wrong but they deserve at least some understanding before the Working Committee sets out to denounce them It it hardly becoming for a reasoned argument to be answered by sentimental appeals or by the cheap remark that the condition in India are different and the economic laws that apply elsewhere do not function here. The resolution of the Working Committee on the subject showed such an astounding ignorance of the elements of socialism that it was painful to read it and to realize that it might be read outside India. It seemed that the overmastering desire of the Committee was somehow to assure various vested interests even at the risk of talking nonsense.

A strange way of dealing with the subject of socialism is to use the word, which has a clearly defined meaning in the English language, in a totally different sense For individuals to use words in a sense peculiar to themselves is not helpful in the commerce of ideas. A person who declares himself to be an engine-driver and then adds that his engine is of wood and is drawn by bullocks is misusing the word engine-driver.

This letter has become a much longer one than I expected and the night is already far spent Probably I have written in a confused and scrappy way for my brain is tired But still it will convey some picture of my mind The last few months have been very painful ones for me and, I take it, for many others. I have felt sometimes that in the modern world, and perhaps in the ancient world also, it is oft preferred to break some people's hearts rather than touch other's pockets. Pockets are indeed more valuable and more cherished than hearts and brains and bodies and human justice and dignity.

There is one other subject I should like to mention That is the Swaraj Bhawan Trust I understand that the Working Committee recently considered the question of the upkeep of the Swaraj Bhawan and came to the conclusion that it was not responsible for it As however it had already made a grant about three years ago and this had not been paid yet, although expenses were incurred on the strength of it, a fresh grant was sanctioned. This will probably be enough for some months In regard to the future, the Working Committee was evidently anxious not to be saddled with the burden of maintaining the house and grounds This burden amounts to Rs. 100 a month, which includes taxes, etc. The trustees, I understand, were also a little frightened of the burden and suggested that parts of the house might be let in the ordinary way to raise money for the maintenance Another suggestion was made that part of the grounds might be sold off for this purpose. I was surprised to learn of these suggestions, as some of them seemed to me to be contrary to the letter of the trust and all of them against its spirit As an individual trustee I have only one voice in the matter but I should like to say that I have the strongest possible objection to any such misuse of the trust property. The very idea of the wishes of my father being flouted in this way is intolerable to me. The trust represented not only his wishes but also in small way a memorial to him and his wishes and his memory is dearer to me than a hundred rupees a month I should, therefore, like to assure the Working Committee and the trustees that they need have no anxiety on the score of the money required for maintenance of the property. As soon as the funds, now granted by the Working Committee for some months, are exhausted, I shall make myself personally responsible for the maintenance and no further grant need be made by the Working Committee. I would also beg the trustees to respect my feelings in this matter and not to break up the property or to hire it for the sake of hiring it out. I shall endeavour to maintain the Swaraj Bhawan property till such time as it is put to some worthy use.

I have not the figures by me but I believe that even thus far the Swaraj Bhawan has not been, in any sense, a financial burden on the Working Committee. The grants that have been paid to it will probably not be much in excess of reasonable rent for the quarters occupied by the office of the A. I. C. C. This rent could have been reduced by occupying smaller and cheaper quarters At the same time in the past the A.I C C has paid as much as Rs 150 a month for rent of an upper floor only in Madras.

Perhaps some parts of this letter might pain you. But you would not have me hide my heart from you

Yours affectionately,
JAWAHAR

[PS.]

I received your short note in Alipore Jail and I sent an answer. But the Superintendent suppressed that answer

A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 112-7

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CHRONOLOGY

(*May 18, 1934—September 15, 1934*)

May 18: In Patna, Gandhiji spoke at A. I. C. C. meeting.

May 19: Spoke at A. I. C. C. after moving resolution on Council-entry.

May 20: Left Patna; interview to *The Hindu.*

May 21: Reached Byree in morning and walked to Gandhi Seva Ashram, Champapurhat; interview to *The Hindustan Times.*

May 22: At Champapurhat, spoke on need for educating people on hygiene and sanitation.

May 23: Spoke at Gopinathpur.

May 25: Had discussion with M. R. Masani and N. R. Malkani; spoke at Patpur, Nishchintkoili.

May 26: Spoke at Kaktia and Salar.

May 27: Spoke at Kendrapara.

May 29: In letter to Masani, gave opinion on Socialist programme; spoke at Kendrapada; interview to Associated Press of India.

May 30: Interview to Utkal workers.

May 31: Spoke at Bari, Neola and Sahaspur.

June 1: Spoke at Purushottampur and Budhaghat; due to rain stayed for night in Budhaghat.

June 2: At Jajpur, spoke at public meeting.

June 3: Spoke at Bhandaripokhari and Todang.

June 5: Reached Garadpur Ashram, Bhadrak.

June 7: At Garadpur Ashram, addressed Harijan workers.

June 8: Cancelled walking tour due to rain; reached Kharagpur by train; in railway station speech, characterized the Calcutta Mayoral election dispute as "unseemly" fight among Congressmen in Calcutta Corporation.

At Balasore, interview to Associated Press of India; spoke on removal of untouchability.

June 9: At Nagpur railway station, spoke to textile workers; reached Wardha in evening; walked to Ashram.

June 12: In Wardha, Congress Working Committee met after lapse of two and a half years.

June 13: Gandhiji left for Bombay.

June 14: In Bombay, interview to members of Harijan Sevak Sangh and Gandhi Seva Sena.

June 15: Spoke at women's meeting.

June 16: Interview to B. R. Ambedkar; spoke at meeting of Congress Parliamentary Board; addressed public meeting at Azad Maidan.

June 17: Interview to members of All-India Swadeshi League.

June 19: In Poona, interview to workers of Indian States' Peoples' Movement, led by N. C. Kelkar.

June 20: Interview to Congress constructive workers.

June 21: Spoke at Mahila Ashram; addressed students.

June 22: Visited Christ Seva Sangh; interview to national education workers.

June 23: At Maharashtra Mandal, a physical culture institute, advised need for moral and spiritual development along with physical culture; visited khadi bhandar and Tarachand Ayurvedic Hospital; spoke at meeting commemorating the Prophet's death.

June 24: Spoke in reply to District Board address; interview to Harijans; addressed a public meeting.

June 25: Escaped attempt on his life; gave statement on bomb incident; visited Seva Sadan; left for Bombay.

June 26: In Bombay, interview to Associated Press of India; left for Ahmedabad; spoke at Baroda railway station.

June 27: In Ahmedabad, had discussion with Harijan workers; spoke at women's meeting; in message to Associated Press of India, thanked authors of numerous telegrams on his narrow escape at Poona.

June 28: Visited Harijan quarters; had discussion with Gujarati Swadeshi Sangh workers.

June 29: Spoke at mill-workers' meeting; addressed Jyoti Sangh members and public meeting.

June 30: Spoke at Congress Socialists' meeting.

July 1: At Bhavnagar, attended reception at Sanatana Dharma High School; had discussion with Kathiawar youths; spoke to Harijans; addressed a public meeting.

July 2: At a joint session of Kathiawar Harijan Sevak Sangh and Kathiawar Political Conference Harijan Samiti, advised members of both organizations to come under the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi.

July 3: Visited Thakkar Bapa Harijan Ashram and Khadi Bhawan; interview to Harijans; addressed public meeting; spoke on State goshala; left for Ajmer by train.

July 4: *En route* to Ajmer, spoke at Mehsana and Palanpur.

July 5: At Ajmer, addressed women's meeting; met Harijan sevaks; spoke at public meeting.

July 6: Early in morning, went by car to Beawar; visited Harijan quarters; received address from Jain sadhus; left for Karachi by train.

July 7: *En route* to Karachi, spoke at Hyderabad.
In Karachi, spoke in reply to civic address.

July 8: Addressed Congress workers; spoke to Sind Harijan sevaks; laid foundation-stone of Karachi Indian Merchants' Association building; visited Harijan quarters; addressed public meeting.

July 10: Issued statement on fast; interview to Harijan leaders; spoke at Dayaram Jethamal Sind College.

July 11: Interviewed by Sind journalists; advised members of Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh to make independent collection from year to year and not to meet current expenditure from the collections made during his current visit, which should be reserved for backward areas; visited Harijan Handicrafts Institute; spoke to Parsis; left for Lahore.

July 12: On train, interviewed by *The Tribune* representative.

July 13: At Lahore, interview to Provincial Congress leaders; also to Harijan deputation; spoke at students' meeting.

July 14: Spoke at women students' meeting; addressed women's meeting.

July 15: Interview to Akali and Khalsa Durbar deputation; also to Punjab Hindus' and Sikhs' deputation; addressed public meeting.

July 17: Spoke at prayer meeting; interview to volunteers; also to Frontier leaders; addressed Punjab nationalist workers; also khadi workers; interview to journalists; spoke at Gulabdevi Tuberculosis Hospital; also at Model Town; interview to Associated Press of India; left for Calcutta.

July 18: At New Delhi Station *en route* to Calcutta, interview to Associated Press of India.

July 19: In Calcutta, issued statement to the Press; was examined by Dr. S. Nilratan Sircar, and Dr. B. C. Roy; attended women's meeting at Albert Hall; was called on by Rabindranath Tagore.

July 20: Was examined by Drs. Sircar and Roy.

July 21: Spoke at Chittaranjan Seva Sadan and laid foundation-stone for its children's wing; had discussion with students; spoke at Town Hall; addressed a public meeting; left for Kanpur; on train interview to Associated Press of India.

July 22: In Kanpur, spoke at civic reception; addressed public meeting.

July 24: Spoke at opening of Tilak Hall; had discussion with sanatanists; addressed U. P. Harijan workers; spoke to students and Harijans; interview to Rashtra Bhasha deputation.

July 25: Went to Lucknow for two hours; spoke at women's meeting, Zenana Park; visited Charkha Sangh Khadi Bhandar; addressed public meeting.
Returned to Kanpur; spoke at Arya Samaj; interview to zamindars.

July 26: Discussion with Congress, Harijan and khadi workers; addressed women's meeting; visited Harijan quarters; left for Benares.

July 27: In Benares, discussion with Socialists.

July 29: Drafted manifesto of Congress Parliamentary Board; spoke on manifesto of Congress Parliamentary Board; spoke at Central Board meeting of Harijan Sevak Sangh and at Kashi Vidyapith on national education.

July 30: Issued statement on fast.

July 31: Refused to obey warrant sent by Lalnath to appear before the Kotwal; addressed a public meeting.

August 1: Spoke at Benares Hindu University; also at Harijans' meeting.

August 2: Spoke at women's meeting; left for Patna.

August 3: In Patna, spoke to Bihar Central Relief Committee and moved resolution rccording its confidence in the Managing Committee; interview to the Press.

August 4: Left for Wardha; interview at Jabalpur.

August 5: Had talk with Jamnalal Bajaj on purifying every institution; advised him to go to Bombay for an operation and offered to look after purification week in Ashram.

August 6: Issued statement on fast.

August 7: After morning prayer and last meal at 5.30 a.m., began fast at 6 a.m.; spoke on significance of fast.

August 14: Broke fast at 6 a.m. by taking a glass of hot water and honey.

After *August 14:* In discussion, exhorted Gujarat Vidyapith teachers to go to villages and "be a peripatetic Vidyapith"

August 15: Was examined by doctors.

August 16: Interview to the Press.

On or before *August 23:* Issued statement to the Press on Communal Award Resolution of the Congress Working Committee.

On or before *August 24:* Interview to khadi workers.

August 26/27: In letter to Vallabhbhai Patel, informed him of discussion he had with Rajagopalachari on his "intention of leaving the Congress"

September 5: In statement to the Press said that no final decision has been taken about his relinquishing Congress Party leadership.

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ERRATA

PAGE	FOR	READ
4 Paragraph 6, line 5	it is the	it is not the
5 Paragraph 4, line 2	look up	look upon
118 Line 1	?	
193 Paragraph 1, line 22	hundred	hundreds
221 Footnote, line 2	address which was	address was
405 Paragraph 1, line 17	require	requite
411 Paragraph 5	God	Good